

MAR 5 1924

PERIODICAL ROOM
VOLUME ~~XXI~~
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NUMBER 3

February 1924

MODERN PHILOLOGY

A Journal devoted to research in
Modern Languages and Literatures

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

The Cambridge University Press, *London*; The Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha, *Tokyo, Osaka,*
Kyoto, Fukuoka, Sendai; The Mission Book Company, *Shanghai*

MODERN PHILOLOGY

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN
MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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VOL. XXI

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Modern Philology is published quarterly by the University of Chicago at the University Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. The subscription price is \$4.00 per year; the price of single copies is \$1.00. Orders for service of less than a half-year will be charged at single-copy rate. Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands and Spain. Postage is charged extra as follows: for Canada, 15 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$4.15), on single copies, 4 cents (total \$1.04); for all other countries in the Postal Union, 25 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$4.25), on single copies 6 cents (total \$1.06). Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following are authorized to quote the prices indicated:

For the British Empire: THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4, England. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, £1 1s. 6d. each; single copies, including postage, 5s. 3d. each.

For Japan and Korea: THE MARUSEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, 11 to 16 Nihonbashi Tori Sanchome, Tokyo, Japan. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, Yen 8.95 each; single copies, including postage, Yen 2.23 each.

For China: THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY, 13 North Zheshuen Road, Shanghai. Yearly subscriptions, \$4.00; single copies, \$1.00, or their equivalents in Chinese money. Postage extra on yearly subscriptions 25 cents, on single copies 6 cents.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to The Managing Editor of MODERN PHILOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter July 13, 1903, at the Post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 15, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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Modern Philology

VOLUME XXI

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MUMMERS' WOOING PLAYS IN ENGLAND

Though the mummers' play in which was enacted the wooing or marriage surviving from ancient pagan rituals in European folklore generally was doubtless once a very popular form of folk drama in England, the wooing play is not recognized as a distinct type in the standard discussions of the mummers' plays by Ordish and Chambers.¹ This is not surprising, however, for the species survived at the end of the nineteenth century in only a limited area and in a form so decayed that the wooing was often absent. Indeed, when Chambers wrote in 1903 little material was available. He discussed the only elaborate form which had been printed—the play from Revesby, Lincolnshire, written down in 1779²—and two texts with the wooing scenes much decayed, one from Lincolnshire and the other from Cropwell, Nottinghamshire.³ Four Lincolnshire plays very fragmentary in form, which Chambers did not consider, those from Axholme, Hibaldstow, Kirton-in-Lindsey, and the North Lincolnshire Wolds,⁴ are chiefly valuable as showing the great variety

¹ See Ordish, "Folk-Drama," *Folk-Lore*, II, 314-35, and "English Folk-Drama," *ibid.*, IV, 149-75; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, chap. x.

² Printed by Ordish in *Folk-Lore Journal*, VII, 331-56, and by Manly in *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, I, 296-311.

³ The first is found in a translation into French by Mrs. Murray-Aynsley, *Revue des traditions populaires*, IV, 609-12. The second is printed in Mrs. Chaworth Musters' *Cavalier Stronghold* (1890), pp. 387-92.

⁴ The first was printed by Wood in *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, II, 88-89, and the others by Miss Peacock in *Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series, VII, 322-24, 363-64; all are reprinted in Gutch and Peacock, *County Folk-Lore, Lincolnshire*, pp. 176-87. In the same work (pp. 175-76, 220-21) are reprinted descriptions of an Alford play from *Lincolnsh. N. and Q.*, II, 21, and of other Axholme plays from Brogden, *Provincial Words Current in Lincolnshire*, pp. 151-52, etc.

to be found even in the plays of the Lincolnshire region. Two versions of a children's game which are apparently mummers' wooing plays in the last stages of decay were naturally not taken into account, though they at least suggest the former currency of the type in other parts of England, since one came from Derbyshire and one from Suffolk.¹ More recently two mummers' plays have been published which indicate that wooing drama of distinct types was once probably widespread in England. Miss Taylor collected in America and printed in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (XXII, 389-94) a play formerly enacted at Broadway, Worcestershire, in which there is a fragmentary wooing scene unlike any previously recorded; and in 1913 Mr. Cecil J. Sharp included in his *Sword Dances of Northern England*, Part III, a wooing play which he had collected at Ampleforth, Yorkshire, entirely distinct in type and as elaborate as the Revesby play.

I am printing here five plays from the Lincolnshire region and one from Keynsham, Somersetshire, all collected in the early part of the nineteenth century, which give further evidence of the variety and vogue of the Mummers' Wooing Plays in England. They are particularly significant because the wooing scenes are more complete than in any published versions except the Revesby and the Ampleforth plays. On the basis of these and the specimens previously printed it will be possible to draw more definite conclusions than before in regard to the importance of wooing and marriage in the ancient pagan rituals of England. For the plays are almost certainly survivals of pagan rites, forms no doubt of the so-called "sacred marriage."² It is impossible, however, to do more here than suggest the significance of the new texts and of the wooing plays as a whole. For a satisfactory study a large body of folk customs surviving in Great Britain and other European countries would have to be considered in connection with the plays.³

¹ "Lady on Yonder Hill," Mrs. Gomme, *Traditional Games*, I, 323-24. In the Derbyshire version, with an opening "Yonder stands a lovely lady," like a line in the Bassingham plays printed below, the rebuffed wooer falls on the ground and is revived by the Good Fairy. In the Suffolk version the Gentleman stabs the Lady and then revives her, calling her out of her trance with lines similar to the corresponding lines in the Bassingham, Cropwell, and Axholme plays.

² For the sacred marriage see Frazer, *Magic Art*, II, 120 ff.; Cornford, *Origin of Attic Comedy*, pp. 18-25, 246; Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, ed. Showerman, pp. 56-59.

³ I have collected much material and hope in the not distant future to complete a study of the ritual marriage in England.

The constant element in the wooing plays of England is the wooing of the "Lady" by a man who is usually represented as old. In all in which the wooing is more than a slight fragment he is rejected for another suitor, who is usually a young man and the leader of the games, often in the rôle of the "Fool." In a number, an old woman with a child is also rejected. There is little doubt that the rejection and marriage symbolize the virgin union of the representatives of the new season and the displacement of the representatives of the old season. With the wooing a renouveau, or slaying and reviving of one of the chief characters, is often found in a form that seems to be an integral part of the symbolism of the wooing plays. In some of the plays—those from Hibaldstow, Broughton, and Swinderby—there is no renouveau. In several, a form of the St. George play is included, with the usual dialogue and the combat between St. George and one of his conventional opponents. These apparently indicate the union of plays of two types. In several others in which the Fool is the opponent of St. George the combination is more complete. The form peculiar to the wooing plays represents not only the rejection of an old person but the slaying in addition. In the Revesby Play an old man and in the Ampleforth Play a supernumerary is slain by the locking of the swords around his neck in the sword dance.¹ In the Murray-Aynsley version the Old Man, a daemon or devil, is slain in a quarrel or combat. In the Cropwell and Axholme plays the Old Woman, the typical scapegoat of numerous spring customs studied by Frazer,² is knocked down and slain by Beelzebub with his club.³

¹ In a mummers' wooing play described by Jackson in his *History of the Scottish Stage* (1793), pp. 409–11, as seen in his youth "in a remote part of England"—Jackson was born in 1742 and spent his youth in Yorkshire and Westmoreland—the Fool is slain. In the Askham, Richard and Haxby sword dances, in which wooing scenes may have been lost, the Fool is killed by the sword lock (see Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 90). Since both the old man as a leader of the game and the young man who replaces him seem to have been called the "Fool," as in the Revesby Play, there is much confusion in regard to the function of this character. Apparently representatives of both the old and the new seasons were called "Fool" in various plays and at times in the same play.

² For the slaying of the Old Woman on the Continent see *Dying God*, pp. 240–49. See pp. 207–11, 227, 232, and *Magic Art*, II, 90, for other forms of the slaying in continental games.

³ In plays from Dorsetshire that lack wooing scenes (*Folk-Lore Record*, III, 87–112) "Old Bet" is slain in the same manner by her husband "John," a part played by the leader of the game, "Old Father Christmas."

There are many continental parallels for the season marriage,¹ but folk plays surviving in the Balkans, especially in Thrace,² give the best evidence of the antiquity of the English plays. In the grouping and relation of the stock characters and in the symbolic rites the plays of the two regions are close akin. In both it is customary for a young couple to mate and for an old and previously mated pair to play some part in connection with this new marriage; for another man, often an old man or daemon, to claim the lady or bride, though in the English plays it is not clear that this is the motive for the slaying, as it is in a number of the Greek; and for an old woman to appear with a bastard child,³ though she does not lay claim to the bridegroom in the Greek as in the English plays. Moreover, in the plays of each country forms of the *renouveau* are intimately connected with the marriage, daemonic figures appear in characteristic costumes of rags or animal skins, and circular dances occur. The use of the plow in the Greek plays, which were performed at Epiphany or later in the spring, indicates their connection with the new season of fertility. Similar rites were common in the Plow Monday celebration of England, and while the carrying of the plow is only occasionally recorded in accounts of the English mummers, as in the Murray-Aynsley

¹ See Villemarqué, *Barsas-Breiz* (11th ed., Paris, 1913), pp. 430-33, for two couples, one of which replaces the other in a summer or May game in Brittany; for other forms see Frazer, *Magic Art*, II, 89, 93; *Balder the Beautiful*, I, 109-10; Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, pp. 59, 62; Phillpotts, *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama*, pp. 118-27; etc.

² See Dawkins, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVI, 191-206; and Wace, *Annals of the British School at Athens*, XVI, 232-53, and XIX, 248-65. Besides many plays with one bride (or two), a group of men in addition to the bridegroom, the old couple, etc., corresponding to the Lincolnshire plays with the group of rival suitors, one lady, etc., there are Greek plays with a considerable number of pairs of brides and bridegrooms. These are paralleled in a May game from Hitchin, Hertfordshire, in which "mad Moll and her husband" with black faces, and seven or eight couples including a Lord and Lady dance and sing, wooing scenes not being mentioned (Hone, *Every Day Book*, I [1888], 283-84), and in a Beltane game from Castleboro, Ireland, with ten or twelve couples besides the Fool and his wife (Kennedy, *Banks of the Boro*, pp. 221 ff.), in which a fight of the Fool with one of the spectators for caressing his wife suggests the combat of the Greek plays.

³ This child, represented as growing up in the course of the play, is at times the person slain. Sharp, who points out the resemblance between the Ampleforth and the Greek plays, cites (*op. cit.*, pp. 14-16, 72) the parallel furnished by the Clown's speech about the slain man: "How can he be an old man? A young man like me, his father! I got him this morning before I got my breakfast." Sharp also calls attention to the parallel in the ritual marriages, but in emphasizing the conformity of the Ampleforth Play to Murray's outline (in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, pp. 341 ff.) of the typical "Enlautos" celebration, in which the marriage has no place, he fails to indicate the real importance of the wooing, which is according to my conception the primary element of these plays.

version, the Cropwell play belongs to Plow Monday and the actors in other plays like those from Broughton, Axholme, and Kirton-in-Lindsey call themselves "plow lads" or "plow boys." This establishes the connection of the plays with the feast of the plow which, celebrated immediately after Twelfth Night, served for the farmers as the conclusion of the Christmas festival and the opening of the plowing season. The performance of the plays in the Christmas season in England and the naming of them "Christmas plays" are consequently perfectly natural. Those who have discussed the Greek plays are no doubt correct in seeing in them survivals of rites of ancient Greek festivals. The probability is that the kindred rites of the English plays go back for their inception to an early period, possibly preceding the advent of Christian missionaries in England, when the religions of the Mediterranean area spread over Europe. Certainly sex rites and contests of characters symbolizing the seasons date from a very early period in English festivals. It is also reasonably certain that the similarity of the season and fertility rites in the English and Greek plays is due not to any influence of a relatively modern period but to the retention of the same pagan symbolism in both, however far the customs may be from their original forms.

The differences in the plays both in details of what seem to be fundamentally the same symbolic rites and in the employment of dialogue in the English plays as against choral song and pantomime in the Greek are the result no doubt of varied modifications and contaminations in the course of the transmission by tradition through long eras. While much that is ancient is probably retained in the English plays, there is clear evidence of the sophistication at least of the dialogue. Indeed, one of the greatest difficulties in dealing with the ritual elements of the plays lies in the fact that the very features in which these elements are clearest show a strong literary influence exerted at various periods—for the most pervasive motive of all literatures and all periods is the wooing. The earliest probable records of the mummers' plays suggest that one reason for this sophistication is to be found in adaptation for semi-professional performance. The fullest of the plays published here, that from Broughton, may already have undergone such a reworking in 1524 when the sum of

two shillings—an amount appropriate to a group of mummers—was paid to “the playars of Browton on Nowyer’s Ewyn” on their visit to the Willoughbys in Nottinghamshire, probably at Middleton Hall.¹ Almost certainly the performance which Machyn describes for March 17, 1553, in connection with a procession of the sheriff of London and a lord of misrule was an adaptation of a play belonging to the type studied here: “then cam the dullo and a sawden, and then [a priest ?] shreyffying Jake-of-lent on horss-bake, and a do[ctor] ys fezyssyoun, and then Jake-of-lent(’s) wyff brow[ght him] ys fessysyons and bad save ys lyff, and he shuld [give him] a thowsand li. for ys labur.”² The reference in the Induction of *The Taming of the Shrew* (i. 93–98) to the playing by Soto (or the Fool) of the part of “a farmer’s eldest son” in wooing “the gentlewoman so well” suggests the use or adaptation of a Lincolnshire play for acting by professionals, though Shakespeare may have been describing the plays of the villages like Barton-on-the-Heath and Wilnecote from which the characters of his Induction hail. On this border line between folk plays and sophisticated plays of strollers, the mummers’ wooing plays could easily have been expanded by the inclusion of dialogue songs and of scenes from popular plays and farces. There is considerable evidence to show that such expansions and contaminations took place freely.

The interrelations of folk and literary forms offer a problem that is far from simple, however. It is probable that the literary material which has most strongly influenced the folk play was itself to some extent at least taken over from folk pastimes, and was reabsorbed readily because of its appropriateness. Festival customs of the folk affected English drama greatly even after the forces of the Renaissance were tending to divorce it from the merely popular and ephemeral and give it a truly literary character. The *renouveau*, for example, is reflected in a series of related morality plays—Redford’s *Wyt and Science*, *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, and *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*—in which Wit is slain by Tediousness and is

¹ *Hist. MSS Com., Middleton MSS*, p. 379. The editor adds the query, “Upper Broughton, Notts.?”

² *Diary*, ed. Nichols, p. 33. Nichols inserts the bracketed parts, explains *dullo* as “devil,” etc.

revived.¹ Features apparently surviving from folk festivals are so numerous in the *Fastnachtspiele* and in Italian farces that these short dramatic pieces are to be regarded at times as sophisticated games.² In turn, elements in the mummers' wooing plays seem to be survivals of medieval dramatic conventions that are in part literary but in larger part probably popular in the final analysis. Wooing scenes in which country characters are presented occur in Italian farce, and the *Fastnachtspiele* show situations and groups of wooers similar to those of the mummers' plays.³ The dialogue, evidently a jig, preserved without title in a Dulwich College manuscript (I, 139, fol. 272) to which the name of Marlowe is attached has two country wooers, the Gentleman and the Fool, dancing in contest for the maid Nan. The success of the Fool here as in the mummers' plays seems to belong to folk tradition. The jig in fact bears the marks of a modified folk game. The motive of the "estates" represented in the Lord, Knight, man of poor estate or needy beggar, and money lender who enter first in the wooing scenes of the *Revesby Play* (ll. 221-41), and less clearly in the wooing group of the other Lincolnshire plays, furnishes the most obvious instance of a literary convention. The group and the wooing scenes in the *Revesby Play* indeed resemble Lyndsay's farce in the *Induction to Ane Satyre of the thrie Estaitis*, where the Fool wins the wife of an Old Man in contest with a Courtier, a Merchant, and a Clerk. There is a strong probability that the wooing scenes of farce represent adaptations of folk games and themselves in turn influenced the mummers' plays. Particularly I believe that the burlesques of the countryman and his customs in the wooings of early farce point to actual conventions of wooing dialogues in folk pastimes. I have elsewhere assembled some evidence going to show that wooing dialogues as

¹ The motive was used also in the lost *Play of Plays*. See Gosson's account in *Plays Confuted in five Actions* (Hazlitt, *The English Drama and Stage*, p. 202). In *The Marriage of Wit and Science* Tediousness is described as a giant or fiend like Turpin, one of the combatants in a Cornish St. George play (Rhys, "Everyman" with Other Interludes, pp. 193-95).

² See Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 412-15, for the close relation of the *Fastnachtspiele* to folk games, and II, 173-79, for the popular element in Italian farce.

³ See Creizenach, *op. cit.*, I, 412-24; II, 173-79; Zingerle, *Stersinger Spiele*, No. xi; Keller, *Fastnachtspiele*, Nos. 13, 15, 70, etc.

well as various types of disguising and mumming were current among the medieval folk.¹

Perhaps the best evidence of the interrelation of folk and semi-professional drama in the Middle Ages is furnished by a body of stock passages that are regularly repeated in various combinations in the decadent folk plays. Almost any student of medieval drama feels immediately that many of these are survivals of expressions conventional in the Middle Ages. The following parallel between the *Revesby Play* and the *Enterlude of Youth*, a play probably written not later than the opening of the sixteenth century, will bring home the point:

Enterlude of Youth (ll. 39-58)

REVESBY PLAY (ll. 308-33)

Youth.

A backe felowes and giue me rounge
Or I shall make you to auoyde sone
I am goodlye of persone
I am pereles where euer I come
My name is youth I tell the
I florysh as the vine tre
Who may be likened vnto me
In my youthe and lolitye
My hearre is royall and bushed thicke
My body playaunt as a hasel styck
Myne armes be bothe fayre and
strong
My fingers be both faire and longe
My chest bigge as a tunne
My legges be full lighte for to runne
To hoppe and daunce and make mery
By the masse I recke not a chery
What so euer I do
I am the heyre of my fathers lande
And it is come into my hande
I care for no more

Blue Breeches.

I am a youth of jollitree;
Where is there one like unto me?
My hair is bush'd very thick;
My body is like an hasel stick;
My legs they quaver like an eel;
My arms become my body weel;
My fingers they are long and small:
Am not I a jolly youth, proper and
tall?
.

Ginger Breeches.

I am a jolly young man of flesh,
blood and bone;
Give eare, my masters all, each one!
.

Pepper Breeches.

I am my father's eldest son,
And heir of all his land,
And in a short time, I hope,
It will fall into my hands.

¹ See *Med. Phil.*, XIV, 237-51, 494-502; *Studies in Philology*, XVII, 44-45. There are burlesques of folk pastimes, in forms older than the farces, which show the same type of treatment given the burlesque wooing in the farces, as in "The Tale of Colkelbie Sow" (Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry of Scot.*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 179 ff.) and "The Turnament of Totenham" (Hazlitt, *Early Pop. Poetry of Eng.*, III, 82 ff.).

The passage in the Revesby Play would seem to have been taken from the *Enterlude of Youth* in the same fashion that other passages indicated in the notes below were borrowed. There is much, however, to suggest that both folk play and enterlude either borrowed or adapted one of the conventional descriptions with which characters introduced themselves in the Middle Ages in dances, games, and popular enterludes. Though the whole passage is not inappropriate for Youth, it is more germane to the mummers' plays than to the morality. Youth introduces himself twice, in his description first of his body suited for activity and second of his inheritance—descriptions associated with different characters in the Revesby Play. The first part of the speech is appropriate for a sword or morris dancer. The demand by an actor for room, emphasis on his activity, as in the Keynsham Play, and references to his "great head and little wit" or his head of iron, body of steel, and legs of crooked (or knuckle) bones are common in mummers' plays,¹ while representatives of youth and age were probably once included as symbols of the seasons. The following conventional opening of mummers' plays, for instance, may be older than the *Enterlude of Youth*:

Room, room, ye gallyants, room,
And gimme room to rhyme;
I be come to show you my activity
All on this Crismus time.
I've acted youth, I've acted age.²

The second part of Youth's speech is common in the Lincolnshire wooing plays and is appropriate for a young leader of the games who succeeds the old leader. In feasts of misrule, morris dances, and folk plays the relation of the two leaders was conventionally represented by that of a father, often a festival lord or king, and his

¹ See Manly, *op. cit.*, I, 295, 305; Chambers, *Med. Stage*, I, 208, nn. 2 and 3, 210, n. 1; etc.

² 10 *N. and Q.*, VI, 481-82. In this play from the Isle of Wight Father Christmas is called "Wold age" by King George. In a play from Ireland (*Folk-Lore*, XXVII, 304) the line corresponding to the last quoted above reads, "Active young and active age," and in others (*Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore*, XXII, 390, for example), "Activity of youth, activity of age." Baker, *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases*, II, 429-32, gives a play in which the conventional combat takes place between "Activity" and "Age." See Chambers, *Med. Stage*, I, 212-18, for names in the plays including such abstractions as "Room," "Colonel Spring," "Captain Bluster," and "Swift, Swash, and Swagger."

son or heir, who corresponds to the Eldest Son of the Lincolnshire plays.¹

The fact that many lines or phrases of a type frequent in the mummers' plays are repeated in the *Enterlude of Youth* suggests again the use of stock formulas of dialogue. Youth's words "I am the heyre," etc., recur in lines 307-8. The defiance and mockery common to swaggering characters of medieval drama like Herod and to the combatants of folk plays are repeated in several passages of the *Enterlude*. In lines 82-85 Youth says to Charity:

Hence caytife go thi way
Or with my dagger I shal the slay
Hens knaue out of this place
Or I shal lay the on the face.

Lines of this speech are repeated in Youth's defiance to Humility (159-60) and a second time to Charity (172-73). Another swaggering speech of Youth's (ll. 126-31) is repeated in part in lines 595, 609-10, and 630-33. The last passage reads:

therfore crake no longer here
Least thou haue on the eare
And that a good knoeke.

That such repetition of stock passages was already a feature of folk plays when the *Enterlude of Youth* was written is indicated by a series of defiances which the Friar hurls at Robin Hood in "Robin Hood and the Friar" (ll. 51-52, 59-60, 69-70), clearly a folk play or based on folk plays:

Go louse the, ragged knave!
If thou make mani wordes, I will give the on the eare.
.
.
.
Avaunt, ye ragged knave,
Or ye shall have on the skynne!
.
.
.
Avaunt, thou ragged knave! this is but a mock;
If thou make mani words, thou shal have a knock.

The taunts and boasts that conventionally preface the combats in the mummers' plays are similar in spirit and at times in phraseology to these passages from the enterlude and the Robin Hood play. An

¹ See *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, I, 1; Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 480; *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.*, XXXV, 36-55; Revesby and Ampleforth plays.

example from the wooing plays is found in lines 86-89 of the Bassingham Children's Play. When a kindred situation recurs economy of effort is secured by repeating conventional lines.

The phraseology in the wooing elements of the plays furnishes a similar problem as to relationships, but its conventional aspects seem to belong primarily to the seventeenth century, to have become fixed in the period when the great mass of dialogue ballads of the London stage commonly called jigs were passing into the hands of strollers or groups of folk performers.¹ It is clear from parallels cited below that from the end of the sixteenth century to the opening of the eighteenth the mummings' wooing plays were greatly modified through a strong literary influence. The long passage taken over into one of the plays from *Wily Beguiled* dates from the sixteenth century or not later than the opening of the seventeenth. The passage from "Diphilo and Granida" comes from a droll published in the second half of the seventeenth century. "Young Roger of the Mill," found in the Swinderby Play, was printed as a slip-ballad and in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, 1724-40, but it may have been an old popular song. These are complete units that have been appropriated by the plays, but there are a vast number of parallels scattered through the broadside ballads of the seventeenth century. It is natural that the phraseology connected with the wooing motive should not have become fixed so early as that of the combat motive. So long as the mummings' plays retained any vitality they would be subject to an outside influence from the ever vital theme of the wooing.

Direct sources for passages in the plays printed here, so far as I have discovered them, are cited in the notes. But there is a marked general kinship between the wooing dialogue of the Lincolnshire plays and popular love song as found in the broadside ballads. The kinship may be illustrated best by quoting pertinent extracts from several ballads. Lines or phrases of these ballads are echoed or repeated in one or more of the plays, but the parallels are so scattered that the significance of the extracts given here will be felt only when the plays are read as wholes.

¹ See Dilke, *Old English Plays*, VI, note on pp. 329-31, for one record. More evidence will be found in my forthcoming book on the Elizabethan jig.

A. PRICE'S "THE MAIDEN'S DELIGHT; OR, A DAINTY NEW DIALOGUE"

Man. I am a Jovial Batchelor, and free from care and strife;
 I nothing in the world do want, and yet I want—a wife!

 'Tis known to all my neighbours, I am one-and-twenty years old,
 And I have store and plenty of white silver and red gold;
 I have both goods and cattle, I have both House and Land,
 I have my horse, my hawk, my hound, and all things at command.

 And now, sweet *Betty*, I am come a-wooing unto thee;
 I prithee tell me out of hand if thou can'st fancy me?

Maid. Good Sir, I thank you kindly for your proffered courtesy,
 But this I tell you plainly here, in truth and verity,
 That I shall never love you, whilst I on earth remain,
 Therefore forbear, and say no more; spend not your breath in vain.
 'Tis not your cunning speeches that shall tempt me unto sin.

Man. Farewell, you scornful Minion! I bid you now adieu;
 I never do intend to come again to trouble you.
 I'll rest my self contented, until that I can find
 A Wife that is more fitting, and agreeable to my mind.¹

B. "THE BONNY SCOTTISH LAD AND THE YIELDING LASS"

[*Lad.*] I have house, and I have land;
 I have all things at command;
 I have a thing that you ne'er see:
 bonny Lass, wilt thou mow with me?

[*Lass.*] For I will never yield to thee,
 without you'll promise to marry me.²

¹ *Roxburghe Ballads*, VIII, 94-95. See VII, 162, for a line in "Rocke the Cradle, John"—"I never mean to marry, while I on earth remaine"—which is closer still to lines 76-77 of the "Recruiting Sergeant." With the opening of Price's ballad compare the following lines of the Hibaldstow Play (9 *N. and Q.*, VII, 323):

I am a Foreign traveller,
 I have travelled land and sea,
 And nothing do I want but a wife
 To please me the rest part of my life.

² *Roxb. Ball.*, III, 475-76. A traditional wooing dialogue often recorded (Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, pp. 551-52; Broadwood and Maitland, *English County Songs*, pp. 90-91; *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, III, 267-68; IV, 297-300; Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children*, pp. 55-56, 272; etc.) contains a parallel to this and the preceding ballad while it opens with a passage similar to lines of the wooing

C. ROBINS' "THE SCORNFUL MAID AND CONSTANT YOUNG-MAN"

[He.] All hail, all hail, thou Lady gay, the glory of the world to me!

 In time I hope thou wilt change thy mind, for all thou seem'st
 at first unkind:

[She.] Good sir, I pray you answer take, you spend your time in vain
 on me:
 I pray you seek some other Mate, my heart doth scorn thy
 base degree.
 What, do you think I am so blind to have a Clown by birth or kind?

 'Tis not your Gold, good Sir, that shall tempt me to yield unto
 your will;
 That Maid which comes when they do call, will find you have
 but little skill.

[He.] Here is Gold and Silver, come and see! with all delights to pleas-
 ure thee.

Upon her continued refusal he breaks out:

Then fare you well, thou scornful Dame.¹

D. "THE LOVING LAD AND THE COY LASS"

Man. All haile, thou bright and bonny Lass! my joy and onely sweeting;

 For I long time have lov'd thee well, but yet I ne're did show it.

Maid. Think it not strange that I am coy, or that I have deny'd thee:
 I never will affect a Boy, whatever betide me.

Man. I prize thee more than gold or pearl, thou art my onely Jewel;
 Then prethee do not frown, my Girle, why shouldst thou be so
 cruel?

.
 But if thoult grant me love at last, and yield thy self unto me,
 My grief and sorrows which are past no harme at all can do me.

plays. A Lincolnshire version given in *Roxb. Ball.*, IX, 851-52, with the title "The Handsom' Woman" may be cited in part:

[He.] Yonder stan's a hansum woman, who she is I dunnot knaw,
 But I'll go court hur fur hur beauty, whether she answers me aye or no.
Aye or no, etc.

Madam, I've got rings and jewels; Madam, I've got house and land;
 Madam, I've got gold and silver; all shall be at your command

[She.] What care I for rings or jewels? What care I for your house or lands?
 What care I for your gold and silver? All I want is an 'ansom' man

¹ *Roxb. Ball.*, IX, 867-68.

After her yielding, he declares:

The sweetest Damosel in the land at last I have obtained.¹

E. "A MAD KINDE OF WOOING; OR, A DIALOGUE BETWEEN WILL
THE SIMPLE AND NAN THE SUBTILL"

[Will.]

If thou love me as I love thee,
My minde shall ne'er remove.

Nan.

Dost think my fortunes Ile forsake
To marry with a clowne,

Away, fond foole, away!

A man of wit best doth fit
A mayden for to take

Then be mute—thy foolish suite
Is all but spent in vaine;

'Tis an impossibility

Thou shouldst my love obtaine.²

In view of the direct and large literary borrowing in the mummers' plays, as from *Wily Beguiled* or "Diphilo and Granida," the close relation of the plays to the broadsides suggests that the dialogue reflecting the old ritual motive of the wooing came to be simply made up from dialogue ballads, jigs, and similar sources. The kinship is doubtless due in great part to folk borrowings from sophisticated pieces either to enlarge simple old dialogues or to supply passages forgotten or confused with related material in the ballads. But, as in the case of the mummers' plays and the older farces, the interrelation between the plays and the ballads may be more complicated than appears on the surface. Some of the phrases—like "Yonder (or There) stands a fair lady"—found in the wooing plays and in related traditional song recur in children's games but do not seem to have influenced the broadsides. Moreover, in at least two instances—"The Handsom' Woman" quoted in part above and "The Finishing Song" of the Bassingham Men's Play and the Swinderby Play—traditional versions of the wooing dialogue which I have not been able to trace in old printed forms show a closer kinship to the

¹ *Rozb. Ball.*, VII, 289-91.

² *Ibid.*, II, 121-26.

spirit and the phraseology of the wooing plays generally than do any of the broadside ballads cited above. There is much evidence to indicate that in the case of the parallels between the ballads and the plays, the passages in question belong, at least in many instances, primarily to the plays. The broadsides published in London were frequently adaptations of popular or traditional ballads and songs or echoed their phraseology. Simple types of wooing dialogues that parallel those of the mummers' plays and the broadsides are often met in the children's games of various European countries, probably surviving from very ancient seasonal games of the folk. The wooer's offer of gifts as an inducement to his lady, for example, which is the most constant feature of the comic wooings found in both mummers' plays and broadsides, seems to be a typical convention of the games, as in the traditional "Keys of Canterbury." The offer of gold, silver, and pearl in particular is characteristic in the wooing games of children.¹ Early burlesques in which the country clown is represented as listing his rustic possessions and offering them in his wooing—as in the *Fastnachtspiele* or ballads like the English "John and Joan" or the Scottish "Wowing of Jok and Jynny"²—may be taken, I think, as reflecting an old folk motive. These two ballads seem to have set a fashion for burlesque that was continuous in English balladry to the period in the latter half of the seventeenth century when numerous broadsides were printed similar to those already quoted in part, but much less broad in their burlesque and—probably as a consequence—much nearer in spirit and phraseology to the mummers' wooing scenes. In other words, the kinship between the plays and the ballads may to some extent be due to the fact that the ballads as partly adaptations of wooing games or dialogues influenced in turn the games used for semi-dramatic performance.

But the problems connected with the development of the texts in the wooing plays are so complicated that it is impossible to judge when the dialogue was formulated, what remains of primitive material, and how much sophistication has occurred in the course of their history. The very earliest formulation of dialogue for the pagan

¹ See Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children*, pp. 42, 45, 55. The last is a version of "The Handsom' Woman."

² See *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 590-96, and Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, II, 24-27.

rituals may of course have been the result of sophistication under literary influences, but at least this occurred so long ago that the oldest parts of the plays may have been traditional for many centuries. It is fairly clear, however, that lines of the plays have been modified in various periods by popular conventions and modes of expression, while distinct units are shown to have been embodied in the texts in relatively modern times.

The texts printed here were written down in the early part of the nineteenth century and are preserved in manuscripts in the British Museum. The Keynsham Play exists in two forms in Hunter's manuscripts entitled "*Collectanea Hunteriana. Popular Antiquities, etc.*" The form written and signed by an actor in the play, James Cantle, with notes in a different hand, presumably that of Hunter, is found in Additional MS 24,546, fols. 46-47. Hunter's arrangement of the text, which is printed below, is in Add. MS 24,542, fols. 25-27. In an introduction he tells briefly of this and of similar plays that he had often witnessed in Yorkshire. The part of his account which bears on the play published here is as follows:

It is usual at Christmas in most parts of England for a number of young men (about ten) to dress themselves fantastically, putting the shirt on the outside and decorating themselves with foil especially where that metal is known with Assidue, and in this disguise to go from house to house offering to perform a Christmas play, and of course expecting a gratuity. These people are called in the North by the name of Mummers. I never heard any other name: but when I met a party of them at Keynsham in Somersetshire, they called themselves Christmas Boys. They usually carried old swords which were used in the fight which generally made part of the entertainment. . . .

I have obtained from a Country youth who was one of the performers a copy of the Dialogue in a play which I witnessed at Keynsham in Somersetshire on the 27 of December 1822.

No doubt the Lincoln plays also were written down for some one interested in collecting. They are all in different hands with corrections or jottings of titles and dates made on the texts by several persons. The manuscripts are now bound together in one small volume in the British Museum as Add. MS 33,418, with the statement that it was "Purchas.^d of E Peacock, Esq. 25 Nov. 1888." The only circumstance connected with the history of the manuscripts which I have been able to learn comes from the fact that the address

to "Sir C. F. Bromhead, Baronet, Thurlby Hall," Lincolnshire, is found on the back of one sheet of the Bassingham Men's Play—an indication probably that the copy of this play at least was obtained at his request and mailed to him. It is obvious not only from the handwriting but from the spelling and other features of the text that some of the plays were written down by uncultured actors who performed in them. The texts are here followed literally since they are clear and are most appropriately garbed in their quaint spelling and punctuation. I have arranged as verse parts of the plays incorrectly written as prose, however, and have added in brackets speakers' names and stage directions where they have clearly been omitted. Other details of the manuscripts that seem significant are mentioned in notes on the texts.

[Bassingham Men's play 1823 Xmas]¹

[Enter Fool]

Good Evening Ladys and Gentlemen all
 This merry time at Christmas I have made it bold to call
 I hope you will not take it ill what I am a going to say
 I have some more Boys & Girls drawing on this way
 I have some little Boys stands at the Door
 In Ribons they are neatly dressed
 For to please you all they shall do their best
 Step in Merryemen all.

[*The players enter and sing together*]

Good Master and good Mistress
 As you sit by the Fire
 Remember us poor Ploughlads
 That runs through Mud and Mire
 The mire it is deep
 And we travel far and near
 We will thank you for a Christmas Box
 And a mug of your strong Beer.

10

¹ The play in a regular but somewhat crude hand was probably written by a performer. The title including the brackets has been added in another hand. Speakers' names and stage directions added by me are in brackets, and I have italicized those in the MS. The play is written as verse with only lines 8, 70, and 76 indented, the writer apparently treating them as stage directions and indenting them in conformity with his practice. Spacing, which apparently is intended to indicate new entries primarily and is accompanied by a straight line across the page, occurs after lines 7, 16, 28, 32, 36, 42, 49, 57, 61, 63, 67, 69, 83, 84, 90, 91, 100, 104, 108, 116, 120, and 124.

[*Eldest Son*]

I am me Fathers eldest Son
And Heir of all his land
I hope in a short time
It will all fall in my hand

20

I was brought up in Linsy Coat¹
All the Days of my Life
There stands a fair Lady
I wish she was my Wife
With fingers long and rings upon
All made of beaten Gold
Good master and good Mistress
I would have you to behold

[*The Husbandman*]

Here comes the Farming Man
Upon my principle for to stand
I come to woo this Lady fair
To gain her Love his all my care

30

Enter² Lady

To gain my Love it will not do
You speak too Clownish for to woo
Therefore out of my sight be gone
A witty man or I have none

Enter Lawyer

A man for wit I am the best
So Chuse me from amongst the rest

[*Lady*]

A Lawyer I suppose you be
You plead your Cause so wittely
But by and by I tell you plain
You plead a Cause thats all in vain

40

[*Dame Jane*]

Here comes old Dame Jane
Comes dabling about the Meadow
Comes Jumping about, to show you such sport
Look about you old Maids and Widows
Long time I have sought you
But now I have found you
Sarrah come take your Bastard.

¹ *Lindsay Court* in some plays.

² *Enter* was used for the first appearance of a character whether he came into the room or stepped out of the circle of players.

[Fool]

Bastard you Jade its none of mine 50
 Its not a bit like me
 I am a Valient Hero lately Come from Sea
 You never see me before, now did you
 I slew Ten men with a Seed of Mustard
 Ten thousand with an old Crush'd Toad¹
 What do you think to that Jane
 If you don't be off[f] I! serve you the same.

[Old Man]

Here comes the poor old ancient Man
 I! speak for myself the best I can
 My old grey Hairs they Hang so low 60
 I! do the best for myself the best I know.
 [To Lady] Me thinks me sees that star shine bright
 On you Iv² fix'd my hearts delight

In comes the Lady

Away Away from me be gone
 Do you think I! Marry such a Drone
 No I! have one of high degree
 And not such an helpless wretch as the

Old Man

Kick me Lady out of the room
 I! be hang³ over our Kitchen Door

[St. George]

In comes Saint George 70
 The Champeon bold
 With my bloody spear
 I have won Ten Thousand pounds in Gold
 I fought the finest² Dragon
 And brought him to a slaughter
 And by that means I gaind³
 The King of Egypts Daughter
 I ash him and smash him as small as Flys
 Send him to Jamaica to make Minch pies.

[Fool]

You hash me and smash me as small as flys 80
 Send me to Jamaica to make Minch Pies

¹ This phrase is used in several plays, but it is no doubt a corruption of *custard*, the reading of the Revesby Play, l. 288.

² In most plays the word is *fiery*.

³ In the MS *I gaind* belongs to the next line.

[*St. George*]

Yes I! hash you and smash you as small as Flys
And send you to Jamaica to make Minch Pies¹

[*They fight; the Fool falls*]

*The old Witch*²

Five Pounds for a Docter my Husband to cure

The Docter

I'm the Docter

[*The old Witch*]

pray what can you cure³

[*The Docter*]

I can cure the Itch and the Veneral & the Gout
All akes within and pains without
You may think I am mistain
But I can bring this Man to Life again.

90

*The old Witch Says*⁴

where have you learnt your skill Docter

The Docter

I have traveled for it.

The Old Witch says

Where have you traveled.

The Docter says

I have traveled from my Old Grandmothers Fireside, to her Bread &
Cheese Cupboard Door, And there had a many a rare piece of Bread & Cheese,

The old Witch says

try your skill Docter;

The Docter says

I will feel of this Mans Pulse Very bad Very bad indeed take a little
of this Medicine⁵

This Man his not Dead but in a Trance
Arise my Lad and take a Dance.

100

¹ The preceding four lines are repeated in the MS with the heading "The old Witch" and scored through.

² That is, Dame Jane.

³ Lines 85 and 86 form one line in the MS.

⁴ In the MS *Says* opens line 91.

⁵ In the MS lines 92-98, including the stage directions, are written as eight lines of verse.

The finishing Song

[Fool]¹

Come write me down the power above
That first created A man to Love
I have a Diamond in my eye
Where all my Joy and comfort ly²

I! give you Gold I! give you Pearl
If you can Fancy me my Girl
Rich Costley Robes you shall wear
If you can Fancy me my Dear

[Lady]

Its not your Gold shall me entice
Leave off[f] Virtue to follow your advice
I do never intend at all
not to be at any Young Mans call³

110

[Fool]

Go you away you Proud and scornful Dame
If you had been true I should of been the same
I make no dought but I can find
As handsome a fair one too my mind

[Lady]

O stay Young Man you seem in haste
Or are you afraid your time should waste
Let reson rule your roving mind
And perhaps in time she'l proof more kind

120

[Fool]

Now all my sorrows is comd and past
Joy and comfort I have found at last
The Girl that use to say me nay
She comforts me both Night & Day.⁴

¹ Presumably the Fool is the speaker since convention demands that the Fool win the Lady.

² comfortably in MS.

³ Lines 111 and 112 are written as one in the MS.

⁴ Except for an added narrative stanza just before the last and some variations in phraseology, a traditional song from Sussex, printed in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, I, 22, is identical with "The finishing Song." Much of the song may be very old. Parallel passages are found in *Misogonus*, II, iv, 81 ("is she not like a diamant in thy eye"), and in the ballads cited above. Compare also the line of "The Down-Right Wooing Of Country William and his pretty Peggy" (*Rozb. Ball.*, VII, 264), "I fancy thee both day and night." The song practically intact forms one of the sections of the Swinderby Play and passages are found scattered through the dialogue of the other plays printed here.

Bassingham Childrens play¹
Xmas 1823

The Play

Part the 1st

Here comes i that has never been yet.
with my great head and little wit.
my head is great my wit is smawl
I will act the fools part to please you All.
I have a few little boys standing at the door
in ribings neatly drest.
and for to please you all
they shal do thier best. .
Step in meryman All. .

[*They enter*]

Lady comes in. we sing. .

Good master and good misteriss
as you sit by the fire
Remember us poor plowlads
that runs through muck and mire

10

The mire it is deep.
and we travel far and near
And we thank you for a Christmas box.
and a mug of your strong beer. .

Part the 2nd

I am my farther eldestson
the air of all his land
I hope [in] a very short time
it will all fall in my hand.

20

I was brought up at lincecort
all the days of my life.
th[e]re stands a fair lady
I wish she was my wife.
with fingers long and rings upon.
made of the beaten gold.
good master and mistres
I would have you to behold.

¹ "Bassingham Children's Play" is written as prose except for a quatrain at the end. The descriptive title is supplied in the left hand corner by the same hand that wrote the title of the preceding play. There seem to be two hands in the text. "Part the 1st", "Part the .3rd", the passage from the middle of line 81 through line 99, and that from line 107 to the end, in a somewhat crude hand, seem to have been written by one person, who apparently made a few corrections in the rest of the text. The other parts are written in a clearer hand. In the same hand apparently are a number of corrections, such as the capitalization of i's in "Part the. 3rd" and insertions through the play.

² The Fool.

247

30

Here comes I the farming man
upon my princeable for to stand. .
I am come to woo this lady fair
to gain her love is all my care. .

40

Lady. . a Lawyer I suppose you be
 you play your cause so wittly.
 but by and by I will tell you plain.
 you play your corse its all in vain.

Here comes old dame jane
being dabbleing about the medows.
jumping about to show such sport
Look about you old maids and widows
long time I have sought you.
but now have I found you
sory^d come take your bastard.

[*Eldest Son.*]⁴ bastard you bitch it is non of mine
it tis not a bit like me.
I am a valient man just come from Sea
you never seed me before now did you.

eldest son. I slew ten men with a mace of mustord seed
 and ten thousand men with an old crusht toad. 60
 What do you think to that jiny.
 if you dont be off] with you I will serve you the same.

* *Lawyer.*

³ *Sirrah.*

⁴ In the *Revesby Play*, the *Cropwell Plow Monday Play*, and the *Broughton Play* this speech and the next one by the Eldest Son belong to the Fool. Since the Fool is often the son and heir of the festival lord, he was probably in many instances identical with the Eldest Son. In the *Revesby Play* and this one they are distinct.

Part the 5th Or the old man.

Here comes the poor old ancient man.
I speak for myself the best I can.
my old grey hairs they hang so low.
I must speak for myself the best I [k]now.

Eldest son speaks.

Looks up old man and never fear
wipe thy eyes and thou will see clear

[Old Man, to Lady]

Methinks me sees yon stars shine bright.
To you I fixt my harts delight.

70

Ladys part.

A way a way from me begone.
do you think I should have such an old man as you.
no I would have one of High degree.

old mans part.

kick me lady out of doors
for I will be hanged upon our kitchen door.
If ever I come near you any more.

Part the 6th Or Saint George.

Here comes saint George the Champion bold.
And with my bloody spear
I won ten thousand pounds in gold
I fought the dragon and broughthin to is slaughter¹ 80
and by that means I won Kings Williams Daughter . .
I will turn myself around. and see who I can see.
If I can see that man that dare fase me.
I will hash him and smash him as small as flies.
and send him into Jamaica to make minch pies.

Fools part.

prithee fellow hold thy noise.
tell me no more of these lies
my blood it rise when first I heard that thing
I will stand before thy fase if thou be some King.

St. Georges part.

No King am I thou can planly see 90
but with my sword I will answer the.

St. George. and the Fool fights. fool drops of his belly

Ladys² part.

Five pound for the Doctor my husband to cure.

Doctors part.

I'm the Doctor mam I'm the Doctor

¹ brought him to his slaughter.

² This and the succeeding speeches by the Lady belong to the Old Woman in other plays.

Lady. Pray what can you cure.

Dr. the itch pox loosie palsy and the gout
all agues and paines within and without

Lady. Where did you learn your skill Doctor.

Dr. I travled for it.

Lady. . Where have you travled for it. 99

Dr. I travell'd from my bed side to my old Grandmothers bread and cheese
cupbord and there's had a many a rare piece of bread and cheese.

Ladys part. Try your skil Doctor.

Dr. I will feel of this mans pults

Doctor puts the bottle to his nose.

Dr part. take a little of my snifsnafs and snuf up your snifsnafs
this man he his not dead but in a trance.
So rise up my lads and take a dance.

foole rises. foole and lady and Doctor dances.

Fools part. I am come to invite you all to my wifes weding what you like
best you must bring on with you. how should I [k]no[w] what every
body likes some likes fish others likes flesh but as for myself I like
some good pottaty gruel so what you like the best you must bring
on with you.

Lady and fool Sings.

We will have a jovel weding. the fiddle shall merrily play. . 112
ri forlaurel laddy ri forlaurel lay

W[e']ll have long taild porrage a puding of barley meal.
ri forlaurel laddy ri forlaurel lay.

W[e']ll have a good salt hering and relish a quart of ale.
ri forlaurel laddy ri forlaurel lay. .

W[e']ll have a lim of a lark and W[e']ll have a louse to roast

W[e']ll have a farthing loaf and cut a good thumping toast 120
ri forlaurel laddy ri forlaurel lay

W[e']ll have a jovel weding the fiddle shall merrily play.¹

¹ This song is close akin to the first stanza of "The Blythesome Wedding," first published in Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, Part I, 1706, pp. 8-10:

Fy let us all to the Briddel,
for there will be Liltin there,
For *Jockie's* to be Married to *Maggie*
the Lass with the Gauden-hair;
And there will be Lang-kall and Pottage
and Bannocks of Barley-Meal,
And there will be good Salt-herring
to relish a Kog of good Ale.

The song was also published in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, 1724 (Glasgow, 1871, I, 85-87); *Orpheus Caledonius*, 1733, I, 76-79; etc. An adaptation appeared in D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, VI (1720), 350-52, as "The Scotch Wedding," etc. See Dick, *Songs of Burns*, pp. 457-58, for various versions of the air.

St George and the Eldest son and the farmer man. Sings this song.

Good master and good mistres now our fool is gone
We will make it in our business to follow him along
We thank you for sobillity¹ as you have shown us here
So I wish you all your healths and a hapy new year

HOW THEY TO BE DREST

Fool drest in cap and trowsers. Lady drest in womans close Eldest son. drest in ribons. Farming man drest in cloth coat boots spirs Old dame jain, old fashned bonet and old bed-gown. Old man drest in old fashned hat and long coat. grey hairs Saint George drest in ribbons. Doctor drest. black coat and trawsters white hanchief.,

A Christmas Play [from Broughton]²

*Enter Fool.*³

Gentlemen and Ladies

I'm come⁴ to see you all
This merry time of Christmas,
I neither knock nor call;

¹ civility.

² Three slightly different forms of this play, written as prose in distinct hands, are included in the volume with the titles, "A Christmas Play," "Broughton Play," and "Broughton Xmas play corrected by a recollection of 60 years." They are cited here as A, B, and C respectively. A is used for the present text. The scribe wrote in a clear hand, giving the title and the speakers' names in heavy script and more than half the time setting the speakers' names partly in the margin with hanging paragraphs. The scribe of B, who wrote crudely, correcting words and inserting omitted words above the lines, signed himself at the end "Thomas Carr 1824." A different hand has written in pencil on the margin of the second page "1824 (Broughton Play Mr. Brigg See top p. 4)" and later "(signed 1824 at end)." These annotations were probably made after the play had been pasted in the volume. The first, on fol. 9r, refers to 10v, the pages having been written in such order that when the sheet was folded the opening page came fourth. C, which seems to be a copy of B, is written in a very regular hand. Though several significant additions are made to the text, suggesting the familiarity of the writer with the play, and many of the errors of B in grammar and spelling are corrected, in the main the text of B is followed word by word, some readings apparently being misinterpretations of the original. C is cited in my notes only when it has a significant variation from B. The titles of B and C were written by the same hand that wrote those of the Bassingham plays, and there are a few corrections in the same hand (D) in C, chiefly restorations of the readings of B. The words "corrected by a recollection of 60 years" probably refer only to these minor changes.

The greater similarity in details between A and B than one would expect in copies made from memory even by performers in the play, but particularly the consistency with which speakers' names are indicated and the letters in them are shaded suggests a close relation between the two manuscripts. B with its crudities could hardly have been copied from A, but the scribe of A might have copied B, correcting freely. A number of details, however, suggest that a manuscript of the play old enough to have old English script was copied in both cases. In line 68 the scribe of B wrote *hæce* and then added *n* above *æ*. In line 156 *n* is written above the *a* of *thousad*. The many abbreviations in B by the use of superior letters may have come from a manuscript with similar abbreviations. Where the words of A "clownish I" (l. 117) appear in B in what seems to be "clown if I," there is a possible misreading of a long *s* and an old *h* of *-ia*. "Com'd," regularly used after "I am" in B, may be due to the misreading of an *s* in the old manuscript. In "Merryman," which is consistently used for the fool in the speakers' names of B (and C), we probably have an old term. If a single manuscript was used the scribe of A either read more correctly or modernized more freely than the scribe of B. In the notes variants are indicated only when they seem significant for meaning or meter or perhaps for the relations which I have just suggested.

³ Called Merryman in speakers' names of B and C.

⁴ B has *Im' com'd*, a regular construction in this version.

I come in so brisk and bold
with confidence I say.
What can you expect of a Fool
that¹ knows no other way.

A² Fool I know I am
and so do you.³

10

Fools⁴ and little children
for most parts speaks true.

My name is noble Anthony
I'm⁵ as live and as blyth and as mad
and as melancholy as that⁶ mantletree
make room for noble Anthony
and all his Jovial Company.

Lady.

When I was a maid in blooming years
my pleasure was all in pride.
My tatling tongue could never lie still
in service to abide.

20

I thought it long all in my Arms
a young man to embrace
but⁷ instead of a man I meet⁸ with a Clown
is not that a sad pitiful Case.

Fool⁹ a pitiful case indeed Madam.¹⁰ Hey, ho! wher's all this paltry poor;
still paltry in this place, and yet not perfect for shame, step forth
peoples eyes look's dim with a very red expectation.

¹ B wick.

² B indeed and so do you.

³ B omits.

⁴ B omits.

⁵ B for A.

⁶ B for fools.

⁷ B A.

⁸ B met.

⁹ In B this speech reads:

"Merryman. A very pitiful case indeed Madam Heigh O were is all this paultry and poor
Still paultry in this place and yet not perfect for shame step forth peoples
dim
looks with the very red expectations."

¹⁰ With ll. 26-52 compare the following from the Induction to *Wily Beguiled* (Malone Society Reprint):

The Prologue. What hoe, where are these paltrie Plaers? still poaring in their
papers and neuer perfect? for shame come forth, your Audience stay so long, their
eyes waxe dim with expectation.

[Enter one of the Players.]

How now my honest Rogue; what play shall wee haue here to night?

Play. Sir you may looke vpon the Title.

Prol. What, *Spectrum* once again? Why noble *Cerberus*, nothing but patch-pannell
stuffe, olde gally-mawfreies and cotten-candle eloquence? out you bawling bandogge
fox-hurd slaue: you dried stockefish you, out of my sight. [Exit the Player.]

Well tis no matter: He set mee downe and see't, and for fault of a better, He supply
the place of a scurvy Prologue.

Enter a Tugger.

Tugger. Why how now humorous *George*? what as mecholy as a mantletree?
Will you see any trickes of *Leigerdemaine*, slight of hand, clenly conuayance, or *deceptio
vius*? what will you see Gentleman to driue you out of these dumps?

Prol. Out you soust gurnet, you Woolfist, be gon I say and bid the Players dispatch
and come away quickly, and tell their fiery Poet that before I haue done with him; He
make him do penance vpon a stage in a Calues skin.

1st Ribboner. How now m'e Amorous¹ George
still² as live and as blyth and as mad
and as melancholy as that³ Mantletree.
What play have you got here today. 30

Fool play boy,

[1st]⁴ Rib Yes play I look upon the Tittle⁵ of the spectimony once a year
you old scallibush nothing but parch pennyworth tuf coal callyely
old callymuf's⁶ you rolling. bolling bangling fool stand out of my
sight.

Fool Zounds what a man have I got here

[1st]⁴ Rib⁷ man you mistake in me.⁷
i'm no talker I am⁸ a Juggler. 40
I can shew you the trick of the twelves,
as many tricks as there are days in the year⁹
toils and moils and motes in¹⁰ the Sun.
I have them all upon my Finger end
Jack in¹¹ the loft quick and be gone.

Fool now man I'll warrant the¹²

[1st]⁴ Rib⁷ Hey now man I see thou can do something. hold thy hand,
here's a Shilling for thy labour;
take that to the poltry of the poor and throw unto them,¹³
say thou hast quite lost the title of this play, 50
callyflaskin jest shall stenge¹⁴ our sight
and you shall hear a new delight.

Juggler. O Lord sir ye are deceiued in me, I am no tale-carrier, I am a Juggler.
If haue the superficial skill of all the seuen liberal sciences at my fingers end.
He shew you a trickes of the twelues, and turne him ouer the thumbes with a trice.
He make him fly swifter then meditation.
He shew you as many toles as there be minutes in a moneth, and as many trickes as there
be motes in the sunne.

Prol. Prithce what trickes canst thou doe?

Juggler. Marry sir I will shew you a trick of cleane conueiance.
Hei fortuna furim nunquam credo. With a cast of cleane conueyance, come aloft *Jack*
for thy masters aduantage (hees gone I warrant ye.)

¹ *Spectrum* is conueied away: and *Wily*

² *beguiled*, stands in the place of it.

Prol. Mas an tis well done, now I see thou canst doe something, holde thee thers
twelue pence for thy labour.

Goe to that barne-froth Poet and to him say,

He quite has lost the Title of his play.

His Calue skin lests from hence are cleane exil'd.

Thus once you see that *Wily* is beguil'd.

¹ B *me* Hamorous; C *my* amorous

⁴ First written above *Rib* in B.

² B omits.

⁵ B *tittle*.

³ B *a*.

⁶ B *tuffcoat calcly old calleymusus*.

⁷ The line reads in B, *you Quiet mistaken in me*, and in C *you'r quest is mistain in me*; D has scored through *quest* is and substituted *quite*.

⁸ B *Im*. Variations between *I'm* and *I am*, *I've* and *I have*, etc., in corresponding phrases of the two texts are frequent and there is no consistency in either.

⁹ B *is days in A year*; C *are days in A year*.

¹¹ B *and*.

¹⁰ B *of*.

¹² B *I warrent tee*; C *I'll warrant tee*.

¹³ B retains the rhyme of *Wily Beguiled*:

*take that to the paultry of thee poor and thus to them say
thou hast quiet lost the tittle of this play.*

¹⁴ B *stenge*; C *clenge*.

1st Rib.^r to the Lady.

Well meet¹ fair Lady in this place,
the exercise that is in the
will over shade² the fairest face,
when beauty comes on high degree

since once to you I've told my mind
I pray fair Lady dont be unkind
it is your beauty makes me say³
I shall go blind and loose my way.

60

Fool I will lead you Sir)⁴

Lady Courteous Knight how must this be.
You will no answer take of me
you look so great I do declare
you come to me but in a jeer.

1 Rib.^r Again⁵ A jeer dear love it is not so.
I'll make it known before I go.
before I go hence from this place,
I will obtain your comely face.

Lady. Away away from me begone,
a witty man or I'll have none⁶

70

2nd Rib.^r Aman for wit I am the best
that ever did to you express
I have such causes underhand
no man like I can understand.

Lady A lawyer I⁷ suppose you be
you plead your cause so wittily
but by and by I'll tell you plain
the cause you plead is⁸ all in vain

2 Rib.^r My wit it never did me fail,
if not for hopes it would prevail
If not for hopes my heart would burst
and in your love I⁹ put my trust

80

Lady Away away out of my sight,
go¹⁰ talk along with yon fair Knight

¹ B met.

² B stay.

³ B shall over Shed.

⁴ This interpolation of the Fool's does not occur in B or C.

⁵ B omits Again.

⁷ B as I.

⁸ B II^l.

⁶ B a witty man for me or none!

⁹ B it's.

¹⁰ B and.

Two Rib.¹⁰ Sing be she gone be she gone
 farewell I care not
 for if she's¹ a pretty thing
 I've had my share on't,
 For if she has² more Land than I³ 90
 by one half acre
 I've plow'd and sown in her Ground
 let the Fool take her—⁴

[*Fool* I have more wisdom than them all
 & by your Wisdom you may fall.]⁵

3 Rib.⁷ I am my Fathers eldest Son
 and heir of all his Lands
 and⁶ hope in a short time
 it will all fall in my hands.
 I was brought up at Linsecourt⁷ 100
 all the days of my life,
 I'm walking with this Lady fair
 I wish she was my wife.
 Her⁸ fingers long with⁹ rings upon
 all¹⁰ made of pure Gold.
 good Master and good Mistress
 I'd¹¹ have you here behold.

Lady It is my clothing you admire
 its not my company you desire
 so farewell I'll bid adieu. 110
 Step in kind sir here's room for you.

Enter¹² Husbandman

Here¹³ comes I the Husbandman
 upon my principal for to stand.
 I'm come to woo this Lady fair
 to gain her love thats all I care

¹ B she has.

² B she's.

³ B me.

⁴ With slight variations lines 86-93 occur as a four line stanza opening the song "The Careless Swain" (*Westminster Drollery* [1671], ed. Ebsworth, p. 81), and the ballad "The Deluded Lasse's Lamentation" (*Roxb. Ball.*, IV, 23). They are obviously borrowed in the ballad and may have been borrowed in the song though they are in a proper setting.

⁵ This couplet occurs only in C. It belongs to the Fool, I judge, though no new speaker is indicated.

⁶ B I.

⁷ B with.

⁸ B are.

⁹ B omits Enter.

¹⁰ B linsay coat.

¹¹ B and.

¹² B I would.

¹³ B In.

- Lady* To gain my love that never will do
you speak so clownish I¹ to woo.
- Husbandman* I've² cart, I've plow, I've husbandry,
I[ve] Gold and Silver enough for the,
I've something else³ will do the good 120
will nourish thy veins and warm thy blood.
I've something else for the beside
if thou'lt consent to be my bride
- Lady* My fathers working at⁴ his loom
my Mothers spinning hard at home
their Dinners they've got
their Suppers they want
so I⁵ pray you be gone and give me your room.⁶
- Ancient Man.* Here comes I' the old⁸ Ancient Man
to speak for myself the best I can, 130
my old Grey locks th[e]y hang⁹ so low
I'll¹⁰ speak for myself the best I know.
- Lady* Cheer up old man and never fear
Wipe thy Eyes and thou'lt see clear,
- Ancient Man* Hey Hey¹¹ me thinks me see the stars shine bright
mee's come to y-'a my Arts delight.¹²
- Lady* why dost thou think I can¹³ fancy such an Old man
as thee.¹⁴
No I'll have one of a higher¹⁵ degree.

¹ B *clown if I*; C *Clownified*.

² B *Hiv'e*; C *I've*; and so through the speech.

³ B omits.

⁴ B *in*.

⁵ B omits *I*.

⁶ Lines similar to 124-28 occur in a wooing dialogue in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, II, 16-17:

My mother is spinning at home,
My father works hard at the loom,
And we ware a-milking come;
Their dinner they want;
Then pray ye, Sir, dont
Make more ado on't,
Nor give us affront;
We're none of the town
Will lie down for a crown,
Then away, Sir, and give us room.

The passage resembles a regular formula of songs of the night visit (see *PMLA*, XXXVI, 571 ff.) and may like the line, "I've houses and land," show the use of conventional phraseology in the dialogue.

⁷ B *In comes I*; C *In comes me*.

⁸ B omits but inserts *old* before speaker's name.

⁹ B *they hing*.

¹⁰ B omits.

¹¹ B *I I*; C *Aye aye*.

¹² B *me'e's com'd to yar me heart delight*; C *My Eyes comes to you my hearts delight*.

¹³ To this point the line in B reads, *Does tee [C he] think I could*.

¹⁴ C omits *as thee*.

¹⁵ B *an high*.

- Ancient Man* Kick my¹ Ladie out of the room.
I'll be hang'd over our Kitchen door
if ever I² come to court y'a any more. 140
- Lady* Take your porridge face away.
- Ancient Man* My porridge face is as handsome as y'-rs and ugly enough too-)
- Jane.* In comes Jane with along neck'd Crane
come dappling ore³ the meadow
she's fib'd before to shew you some sport
look about you old Maids and Widows
- Fool*⁴ long time I've sought but now I've found⁵
my joy and only arsturd.⁶
- Jane* but since you've said so and call'd me your Whore⁷ 150
Sarrah come take your Bastard
- Fool*— Bastard T'is none of mine its not abit like me.
I'm a valient Knight just come from sea
you never heard talk of me before did ye.
I kill'd ten men with a mess of mustard,
ten thousand with my bright Sword.
- Jinny* I have a sheep skin
to lap them in⁸
look about you old maids and Widows,
- [*Fool*] had I been aman in this country known, 160
and my valour had been⁹ shown
Sound Music Sound. I'm just agoing (*row de dow*)¹⁰
- Fool* Stop abit I have abit of a Song to Sing to my Lady before I go I'll
Snite¹¹ my Eyes and clear my Nose and see what I can do before
I go. *Sings*
My love My dear My Dove My Duck¹²
one pleasant smile my heart will cheer
but if on me you cast one frown
I greatly fear it will knock¹³ me down
[*Old Man aside* then ya may get up again.]¹⁴ 170
- ¹ B *Why then kick mee.* ⁵ B *long I have sought but now I have found.*
² B *before I'll.* ⁶ B *astard; C Bastard.*
³ B *com'd Dabbling over.* ⁷ B *since you have said so and call'd me hore.*
⁴ B *omits.* ⁸ B *to lap [C wrap] them all in.*
⁹ B *valoured been; C Valour been; D inserts had.*
¹⁰ In stead of *I'm just agoing (row de dow)*, B has the direction, *A Dance*, and C (*three Riboners and Lady Dance*).
¹¹ B *snipe.*
¹² B *My Love my dove my duck my dear.* The line is a conventional one; see *Roxb. Ball.* I, 626; VII, 264.
¹³ C *Cast; B and D knock.*
¹⁴ This aside occurs only in C where it has been inserted above the line.

*Lady*¹ Indeed kind Sir since you say so
to banter me will never do.²
when I become a Married Wife,
there³ after follows care and Strife

Fool sings again

Alas sweetheart you are mis-tain
for more than that I'll tell you plain,
A maiden she must run⁴ and go
toil⁵ and moil through care and woe
whereas⁶ a married wife may sit and⁷ rest
pray tell me which⁸ lifes the best. 180

*Lady*⁹ Indeed kind Sir since you say so¹⁰
Along and along with you I'll go.
I'll wed with none but only you
to all other¹¹ gallants I'll bid adieu—

Fool Adieu and Adieu to all but you my Dear.
You may all behold and see
T'is the Fool that leads away the fair Ladie—¹² 187

Fool Im come to invite you all¹³ to my Wifes Wedding and mine and what
you like best¹⁴ you may bring along with you how the duce should I
know what you all like some likes fish some¹⁵ likes flesh some¹⁶ likes
kissing and some likes, frummity¹⁶ but as for my part I'm a good deal
the nature of my old Grandmother she talks short tongu'd and I
learnt to talk after her.¹⁷ But I'll tell you what m'e Ladie and I
likes and we will have it too
we will have a long tailed porridge thicken'd with barley meal
we will have a good salt herring to relish a quart of ale,¹⁸
we will provide for the wedding as fast as ever we may
we will have a jovial wedding the fiddle shall merrily play

¹ B and C add *sings*.

² B *that never will do*.

³ B *then*.

⁴ B *she may come*; C *she may run*; D writes *come above run*.

⁵ B *through toil*.

⁶ B *were*.

⁷ B *at*.

⁸ B *tell to me wick*.

⁹ B and C add *sings*.

¹⁰ B *have said so*.

¹¹ B *these*.

¹² B *but its the fool that leads the Lady Away*.

¹³ B omits.

¹⁴ B *the best*.

¹⁵ B *and some*.

¹⁶ The scribe of B has inserted *How the duce . . . furmity* between the lines.

¹⁷ *but as for . . . after her omitted in B and C*.

¹⁸ For the second half of line 193 and for lines 194-96 B substitutes: *but I'll tell you what me Lady and mee have* [C omits *tell* and *mee have* and D supplies *tell* and *I like*]:

*wee'll have A leg of A lark wee'll have A louse to roast
we'll have a farthing loaf and cut A good thumping toast*

Fool says Hedge about boys and I'll knock down stakes.

Ancient Man and I'll help to bind.¹

200

Fool

so² now our sport is Ended
you will hear³ our voices ring.
I hope you'r well contented
so God save the King.

we're not those Lonnon actors⁴
that Hacks in Lonnon⁵ court,
we are the Country plow lads⁶
just com'd from plow and cart

[we are not the London acters
I told you so before
we have done the best we can
so the best can do no more]⁷
So I hope you'r well contented
with what we have shown you here
I wish you a Merry Christmas
and a happy New Year,
and⁸ what you please to my box
and a sup of your Strong Beer.

210

3 Ribboners Sing God bless the Master of this House

and send him long to reign

220

a many merry Christmas's⁸

we wish to see him again,
amongst our Friends and Neighbours
that live both far and near.

We⁹ wish you a merry Xmas
and a happy New Year

Finis¹⁰

¹ B and C omit the speech of the Fool and that of the Ancient Man and have the stage direction, "3 Riboners And Lady dance."

² B omits.

³ B *you's heard*.

⁴ B *the London acters*.

⁵ B *acts in London*.

⁶ B *Plougboys*.

⁷ This stanza is supplied from B.

⁸ B A [C and] *many A merry Christmas*.

⁹ B I.

¹⁰ B is signed "Thomas Carr 1824."

Recruiting Sergeant¹

[Fool]

In comes I noble Antony
 as mad and as milde and as blithe
 as your old Mantle Tree,
 make room for nob[le]² Antony
 and all his jovel company
 I have four mery mery actors stands at the door
 some can dance and some can sing,
 if you will consent they shall come in

Lady

When I was a maid in blooming years
 my pleasure was all in Pride, 10
 my talking tonge would never be still
 in service to abide,

I thought it long a young man
 all in my armes to embrace
 instead of a young man I met with a Clown,
 was not that a sad pitufull case.

Fool a pitufull case indeed but how can we help it I ho! I ho! where's
 all this paultring poor still paultring in this place yet not perfect,
 Farshame, Farshame, step forward and let your voices ring

Sergeant,

I am a Noble Sergeant 20
 arrived just now,
 My orders are to enlist all
 that follow the Cart or the Plow.
 likewise the noble Tradesman
 their fortune to advance

¹ "Recruiting Sergeant" is written as prose throughout. In many cases the speakers' names are put on a separate line at the head of the speech, while in others they are run into the text. Some erasures, short lines, and flourishes are not indicated in the reprint.

The play seems to be a sophisticated dialogue whose nature is indicated by the title—supplemented by conventional fragments in the opening (ll. 1–19), the preparation for a combat that ends in a dance (ll. 40–55), and an incomplete final scene introducing the usual pair of old people (ll. 104–24). The wooing dialogue unmixed with other elements forms one of the sections of the Swinderby Play (ll. 15–80). Parts of it appear in the Cropwell, Murray-Aynsley, Hibaldstow, Kirton-in-Lindsey, and North Lincolnshire Wolds plays, while the term Ribboner for a recruit is given to characters in the Broughton Play. In a Sussex (5 *N. and Q.*, X, 489) and a Hampshire St. George play (2 *N. and Q.*, XII, 493) Jack, "with his wife and family" on his back, announces himself as Twingtwang, a recruiting officer or lieutenant of the press-gang. The motive is old enough to have become widespread among the mummers. A song, "The Recruiting Officer," in D'Urfey's *Pills*, V, 319–21, has the tone of the mummers' plays but no parallels except in the call for recruits. Still less suggestive of the plays are a song, "Cupid's Recruiting Sergeant" (*Rozb. Ball.*, VIII, 188), and Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*.

² MS is torn.

- Fool* I boy and I am a fool
to come to see you dance.
- Sergeant* you a fool come to see me dance
faith I can sing and dance fool,
- [*Fool*] I can neither dance sing nor say 30
but if you begin to sing I shall go away,
- Sergeant* Good people give attention
and listen to my song
I will tell you of a young man
[be]¹fore it be long,
he is allmost broken hearted
the truth I do declare,
and beauty [h]as entised him
and drawn him in as snare
- Second Riboner* In comes I the champion bould, 40
with my bludy spere,
I won ten thousand pounds in gould,
I fought the firy dragoon
and beat him to a slawter,
and by that means I gain'd
the King of Egipets Dauter
I turned my s[e]lf round and if any man dare face me
I will ash him and smash him as small as flies,
I will send him to Jamacak to make mince pies.
- Sergeant* Though talk about ashing and slashing as small as flies 50
pray the fellow let us have non of these lies,
thou will raise my blood if thou says that thing.
I will stand before the if thou be some King
- [*Second Riboner*]
No! No! no King am I you plainly see
but with my sord I will answer thee
Dance.
- [*Third Riboner, or Recruit*]
Behold me now I have lost my mate
my drooping wings is on fate
pity my condition I do declare
for this fals girl I am in dispare
- Sergeant* Chear up man don't be in despair 60
for in a short time the Lady will there;

¹ Torn off.

Lady

Behold me now my lady
 with fortune and with charmes
 so shamefully how I was throughn away,
 into this loobys arms,

He swers if I don't marry him
 as you may understand,
 he will list for a souldier
 into some foreign land

Sergent

Madame if he consent to Marry you
 as once praphaps he may
 he will list for a Soldier
 and from you run away

70

Lady

I thank you Kind Sir
 for the good advice you give
 I never mean to marry him
 while on this earth I live,
 I never mean to marry him,
 I would have you for to know
 I will have another sweetheart
 and with him I won't go

80

Fool Stand back cock me dow let my Lady and me have a little discourse
 together

Madam if you will consent to marry Me
 we will marry off at Hand
 I have gold and silver
 and that will please thee
 You shall have a servent Maid
 to wait at your command
 if you will consent to marry me;
 we will marry [off]¹ at hand

90

[Sergent]

Come my Lads that has a [m]ind¹ for listing,
 come and go along with me
 you shall have all kind of liquers
 when you list in Company,
 and ten Guines then shall be your Bounty
 if along with me you will go.
 Your hat shall be so neatly dressed
 and we will cut a gallant show.

¹ MS. torn.

- [*Recruit*] I then kind Sir, I will take your offer 100
the time away will sweetly pass,
Dash me if I will grieve any longer
for a proud and saucy lass.
- Dame Jane* In comes the Old dame Jane,
dabbling about in the middows,
jumping about to show you such sport,
look about you old Maids and widdows
long time I have sawght you
but now I have found you,
Surry come take you[r] basterd 110
- Ancient Man* In comes the poor old ancient man
I will speek for my self the best I can.
My old grey hairs they hang so long.
I will speak for myself the best I know,
- Old Lady* Look up old man and never fere
wipe your Eyes and you will see clere,
- Old Man* Me thinks me sees yon stars shine bright
unto you I fix my hearts delight
- [*Lady*] Away! Away! from me be gon,
do you think I will fancy an old man like you, 120
I look of high degree
- [*Old Man*] Kich my Lady out of the door,
for I will be hang'd upon our Kitchen door
before I will come nigh you any more

Swinderby Dec^r 31st 1842¹

- [*Fool.*] In comes i to veiw this noble room to act most bravely
let this room be large or small or of great desarter
wee wish to act in all our acting parts
as for any further abstinence a las for him i crave
and after mee comes a soldier fine and brave

¹ The Swinderby Play is written as prose in a clear but unsteady hand. The names of the speakers are omitted throughout, but the paragraphs and particularly the curved marks indicate the changes of speakers. The heading is in a different hand, apparently not that of the other titles supplied in the volume. The play is unique in the fact that it is made up of distinct units. Between the brief and conventional introduction and conclusion there are three different wooing dialogues: first, that combined with the motive of the recruiting sergeant; second, that found in "The finishing Song" of the Bassingham Men's Play; and third, a variant of "Young Roger of the Mill" found in none of the other wooing plays.

- [Sergeant.] I am a noble sergeant arived here just now
my orders is to list all men that follows the cart
and plough
likewise all other trades that wishes to advance)
- [Fool.] I am a fool comes to see you dance
- [Sergeant.] You fool come to see me dance 10
- [Fool.] Yes
- [Sergeant.] faith i can sing
- [Fool.] I can neither dance sing nor say
but if you begin to sing i shall go away
- [Sergeant.] Good people give attention
and listen to my song
I will tell you of a young man
before the time be long
- he is almost brokenhearted
the truth i do declare 20
for bea[u]ty has enticed him
and drawn him in a snare.
- [Recruit.] Behold those drooping wings that hangs over my pate
pity my condition and dont me disdain
pray fales girl i am in Pain
- [Sergeant.] O come tell me youth this maid provd false
with all her vows and flattering oaths betrayd
did her soft smothering speech ingage you to beleive
did she swear vows and then deceive 29
- [Recruit]¹ the heavy pai[n]² that i feel and bad enough to boy that is my
part but i care little about no nor i nor never did
- [Lady.] Behold the lady bright and gay
her fortune and her charms
so scornfull i was thrown away
into that lubey's harms)
- [Recruit.] I dont like your song maddam
- [Lady.] You dont like the truth sir)
- [Recruit.] Would you wish to offend me)

¹ Possibly the Fool is the speaker.² n missing at margin.

[*Lady.*] Would you have me tell a lie

[*Recruit.*] get out of my sight you sausy baggage

40

Now since you have been so scornfull
the truth to you i will tell
i will list for a solger
and bid you farewell)

[*Sergeant.*] If these be is thoughts maddam
pray let him go
he never means to marry you
he will prove your overthrow

when poverty begins to pin[ch]¹
as once perhaps hit may
he will list for a soldier
and from you run away

50

[*Lady.*] I thank you kind sir
for the good advice you gave
i never mean to marry him
wilst on this earth i live

i never mean to marry² Him
as you may understand
you may list for a soldier
into some foreign land)

60

[*Sergeant.*] Come you lads that his bound for listing
come and do not be afraid
you shall have all kinds of liquor
liquewise kiss the pritty maid)

[*Recruit.*] Now kind sir i like your offer
time away shall sweetly pas
dash me if i will greive any longer
for a proud and sausy lass.

[*Sergeant.*] Ten guineas i will give you bounty
if a long with me you will go
your hat it shall be drest like mine
likewise cut a gallant show

70

¹ Torn away.

² Folio 12 ends with *marry*. The passage from *Him* through line 72, evidently omitted from the body of the play by mistake, is added on a separate leaf (folio 15) at the end of the play.

- [*Lady.*] So now my love has listed
and enterd volunteer
I never will greive for him
nor for him shed one tear

I never will greive for him
I will let him to [k]now
I will have a nother sweetheart
and with him i will not go 80
- [*Fool.*] I will give the gold i will give the pirl
if thou can fancy me my girl)
- [*Lady.*] It is not your gold that will me entice
to leave off[f] roving to follow your advice
for I never do attend atall
to be at any young mans call
- [*Fool.*] O go you proud and sausy dame
if you had been true i should been the same
i make no dought but i can find
as handsome a fair one to my mind 90
- [*Lady.*] Stop stay young man you seem in haste
as though you thought your time should waste
let reason rule your roving mind
and perhaps in time i shall prove more kind)
- [*Fool.*] So now my sorrows is over and past
joy and comfort is found at last
the girl that use to say me nay
she comforts [me] both night and day
day and night
she is my joy and hearts delight 100
- Come right me down the powers above
that first created a man to love
I have a dimond in my eye
where all my joy and comfort lie)
- [*Husbandman ?*]¹ Madam if though will consent to marry me
I have got gold and silver and that as will please the
thou shall have a servant maid to wait at thy command
and we will be married and married out of hand)²

¹ This part, which is spoken by the Fool in "Recruiting Sergeant," here belongs to a different character, and was probably taken by the conventional husbandman.

² See "Recruiting Sergeant," ll. 83-91.

[Lady.]

O roger you are mistaken¹
 a damsel i reside
 I am in no such haste
 as to be a plougman's bride
 I live in hopes to gain a farmers son)

110

[Husbandman?]

If that be it good Mistress
 I will come no more i have done
 you may take your farmers son
 and wed with all my heart
 although my name be roger
 i can follow the plough and cart)

119

¹ For its relation to ll. 105-58 I print the whole of the slip-ballad "Young Roger of the Mill" from W. H. Logan's *Pedlar's Pack of Ballads and Songs* (pp. 343-44):

Young Roger of the Mill, one morning very soon,
 Put on his best apparel, new hose, and clouten shoon,
 And he a wooing went, to bonny buxom Nell,
 "Adzooks! said he, can thou fancy me, for I like thee wondrous well, well,
 For I like," &c.

It was early the next morning and on a holiday,
 Young Roger dress'd his horses and he gave them corn and hay,
 "I am come to speak my mind, what say'st thou bonny Nell?
 Adzooks! says he, can thou fancy me, for I like thee wondrous well, well."

"I thank you for your offer," the damsel she replied,
 "But I am not in such a haste to be a ploughman's bride,
 For I do live in hopes to marry a farmer's son."
 "If that be so, farewell, I'll go," said Roger, "for I have done."

"Your horses you have dress'd, I think I've heard you say,
 Made all in readiness, and having come this way
 Just sit and chat a-while;" "No, no indeed, not I,
 For I cannot sit, and cannot chat, as I've other fish to fry."

"Go take your farmer's son, with all my honest heart,
 For though my name be Hodge and I drive the plough and cart,
 I need not tarry long before I get a wife,
 There's buxom Joan 'tis very well known, she loves me as her life."

"And Oh, what is buxom Joan, cannot I suit as well?
 For she has ne'er a penny, not so has bonny Nell,
 I have got fifty shillings," the money made Hodge to smile,
 He bowed his head, and he drew a chair, and he vowed he'd chat a-while."

"So now, my dearest Nell, against next quarter day,
 If thou hast fifty shillings, why need we longer stay,
 For I have fifty more, the money a cow will buy,
 So we'll join our hands in wedlock's bands, and there's none like you and I."

This text was printed by Armstrong of Liverpool. An early slip-ballad in the Roxburghe Collection in the British Museum, Vol. III, No. 752, called "Roger of the Vale," I have not seen (see *Roxb. Ball.*, VIII, 188). Fragmentary traditional versions are found in Kidson, *Traditional Tunes*, pp. 66-68, opening, "Young Roger of the valley," and in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, I, 250, opening "Young Roger of the Mill." Both are close akin to the version printed here. Kidson states that the title of an air in Wright's *Second Book of the Flute Master Improved*, ca. 1715, is "Roger of the Vale." A version of the song occurs in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* (II, 186-88), in *The Vocal Miscellany*, third ed., I (1735), 339-40, and in *The Robin* (1749), pp. 414-15. The following variants of Ramsay's text are nearer than the slip-ballad to lines (109-10, 114-15) of the mummers' play:

Young Roger, you're mistaken, / The damsel then reply'd.
 If it be so, says Hodge, I'll go; / Sweet mistress, I have done.

On the other hand important variants from Ramsay in the concluding stanza of the slip-ballad are repeated in the play. The variations suggest that the early printed versions may have been derived from a traditional song.

[Fool.] Stand out you sausy clown let me lady and i have a bit of a song
together

Maddam as i walkt down the dale
one morning very soon
drest in my best aparrel
liquewise my cloughted shoes

for as I have comd a woing
to the my bucksome nell
if thou loves me as I love the
thou loves the person well.

[Lady.] Go get your horses drest 130
weel fed with corn and hay
put on your best aparrel
and then step on this way)

[Fool.] O no me troth not i
i have neither come to sit nor chat
i have other fish to fry
i need not tarry long
before i get a wife
here is bucksome jones
she is verry well nown 140
she loves me as her life

[Dame Jane.] I do my dear)

[Lady.¹] Why talks the of jones
cant i please the as well
for she as got no money
and I am bucksome Nell

for i have got forty shillings
and that is a glorious thing
it will [get] a lass a swetheart
as i am bucksome Nell) 150

[Fool.] If thou as got forty shillings love
wich i suppose you may
we will no longer tarry
than the next quarter day

for I have got fifty more love
and that a cow will buy
so we will shake hands in wedlock bands
so sing rare be Nell and I

So now we will provide for a weding diner as quick as we can
 We will have a long tald cabbage 160
 a barly pudding a salt red erring
 a limb of a larek and a louce to roast
 we will have a farding loaf
 and off[f] a that cut a good thumping toast
 wee will have a joval corant
 and the fiddle shall merryly play

so edge about

[*All sing.*]

So now our sport is ended
 you have heard our voices ring
 I hope you are well contented 170
 and god save the Quenn

I wish you a merry crismas
 and a happy new year
 and what you please to my box
 and a jug of your best beer.

[*Exit Fool.*]

[*The rest sing.*]

Good Master and good Mrss
 now our fool is gone
 we make it in our buisiness
 to follow him a long
 we thank you for Sivility 180
 that you have shown us here
 so i wish you all your health,
 and a happy new Year

A Christmas Play [from Keynsham]¹

Father Christmas—

In come I, Old Father Christmas, welcome or
 welcome not
 I hope old Father Christmas will never be forgot.
 A room, a room
 I do presume
 For me and my brave gallants all
 Please Sir to give leave to rhyme
 For now I am come this merry Christmas time.

¹ This play is printed in the form given by Hunter except for italics in speakers' names and stage directions. Cante's copy is designated C. The title is supplied from C. Only important variants are given.

Activity of Youth, Activity of Age
The like was never seen before, nor acted on the
stage.

As I walk down 10
In Warwickshire
To view the red Deer
Which runs here and there

And there I saw bold Robin Hood¹
And with my staff all on my shoulder
So soon I cleared the way
With my one two and three²
I made them for to flee
Any man do more than me.
Walk in Saint George.³ 20

Saint George— In come I, Saint George that noble Knight
Which lost my blood in English fight
This is the reason
That makes me carry this bloody weapon.
Any man do more than me.

Father Christmas—⁴
Walk in the valiant Soldier.

*Slasher*⁵— In come I the valiant Soldier bold
And Slasher is my name
Sword and buckler by my side
I warrant to win⁶ the game. 30

Saint George— Very likely!

Slasher— And very likely too!—And what makes your nose
look so red?⁷

Saint George— And what makes your nose look so red?

Slasher— You eat more bread and cheese and drink more ale
And that will keep you from looking pale.

Saint George— Slasher, Slasher, don't be so hot
For in this place you know not whom youve got

¹ C. Robinwood.

² C and by three.

³ Saint George is King George throughout C.

⁴ C has no new speaker.

⁵ C Soldier instead of Slasher throughout in speakers' names.

⁶ C gain.

⁷ Hunter queries blue?

Slasher. A battle, a battle let thee and I try
Which on the ground first shall lie. 40
They fight, and St George is slain.

Slasher. Five pound I would give if a noble Doctor can be found.
Enter Doctor.

Doctor. See Sir, see Sir, here comes this noble Doctor who travels much at home: Don't go about like your little Quack Doctors. I go about for the good of the country more to cure than I do to kill. Bring me an old woman that has lain¹ in the grave. If she will arise & take one of my pills, I will be bound in a fifty pound bond her life to save. Thomas!

Enter Thomas

Thomas. Yes, Sir.

Doctor. This man is not dead.

Thomas. Not dead! Sir. He has only got the tooth-ache.² I think you had better draw it, Sir. 51

*Doctor (pretends to draw an immense tooth which he exhibits)*³

Gentlemen, Gentlemen all
Is not this enough to kill any man at all.
I have travelled through Ireland Scotland &
France
Rise up, St. George, and have a dance.

Saint George. Terrible, Terrible, the like was never seen
Enough to frighten any man out of seven senses into
seventeen.

Any man do more than me.

*Father Christmas.*⁴

Walk in the Shepherdess.
Once I was a Shepherd walking on the plain 60
Courting of my Shepherdess all among the swain

¹ For that has lain C has as bin laign.

² He has only got the tooth-ache, ought apparently to be spoken by the Doctor. C reads: *Thos ans yes sir this man is not dead, & not dead he only got the Tooth ache, ans I think you had better draw him sir.*

³ Hunter supplies this stage direction.

⁴ C does not indicate a new speaker here and from this point he omits speakers' names, writing *Ans* at the beginning of each new speech.

With lines 59-74 compare "Diphilo and Granida" from Kirkman's *Wits, or Sport upon Sport*, 1673:

Enter Diphilo a Shepherd.

Diph. I once a Shepherd was upon the plains,
Courting my Shepherdess among the Swains.

.....
(*Espies Granida.*)

See, see, who comes here. What shining beautys this
Which takes my delight all in the shady bliss.

Shepherdess. Tis I and my harmless damsel walking on the plain
I am lost, I am lost, I fear I shall not be found again.

Father Christmas.

Miracle thy beauty, I am sure you are no less
Mistress take this little bottle and quench your thirst.

Shepherdess— Yes kind Sir let me thank you for it first
It is very good indeed Sir,—much better may you be.
I thank you kind Sir for giving it to me. 70

Father Christmas.

If I had a thing as I could call my own
How proud and lofty I should be

Shepherdess— Thou hast said enough to shoot the dart
So let us gain the prince's heart.

Prince Good morrow, Moll, this morning gay
Where art thou going so soon this way
I have something to say to thee if thou will stay.

Shepherdess. What hast thou got to say to me
Come tell me quick and true
For here I stand spending my time to thee 80
I know not how.

But ha, what's here? What shining Beauty's this?

Which equally desires my shady bliss.

Gran. I'm lost in this dark Wilderness of care,

Where I find nothing to prevent despair.

No harmless Damsel wandring, no, nor Man:

I am afraid I shan't be found again.

I am so thirsty, that I scarce can speak.

Diph. Can she grieve thus, and not my heart-strings break?

Miracle of Beauty, for you are no less;

Water is waiting on such happiness.

It is as clear as Crystal, and as pure.

Gran. O bless me, Heavens, are you a Christian sure?

Diph. Madam, I am no less, pray quench your thirst.

Gran. Kind Sir, I will, but let me thank you first. [*Drinks.*]

Indeed 'tis good, but you must better be,

In being so courteous, as to give it me.

Diph. Praise it not, sweetest Madam, for you know

On common Creatures this we oft bestow;

If I had any worthy thing, call'd mine,

I should be proud to offer't to your Shrine.

Gran. Thou hast said enough, for Love hath shot his Dart,

And to thy Weeds I'll yield my Princely heart.

¹ Hunter queries at this point, "Does this touch upon Comus?"

Prince Thy father and thy mother too
Told me that we should married, married be
And so pull down thy swathful look
And swop¹ thy love on me.²

Shepherdess I will never marry with a cloud³
But I will have a handsome young man
To lie in bed with me.

Prince What dost thou talk of now
Am I not handsome enough for thee
Pray look another twich⁴

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¹ C *somop*.² With lines 75-85 compare the following passage of the Broadway, Worcestershire, play (*Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore*, XXII, 392):*Sweet Moll walks into the room.*

St. George Sweet Moll, Sweet Moll, where art thou going,
So early and so soon?
I have something to thee to say,
If yet that thou canst stay.

Sweet Moll What hast thou got to say?
Pray tell it to me now,
For I am spending all my time
In what I can't tell how.

St. George Sweet Moll, thy parents and mine had well agreed
That married we should be,
So pull down thy lofty looks,
And fix thy love on me.

³ Evidently *clown*; C too has *cloud*.⁴ Hunter adds: "And here ends this tragi-comic Pastoral, Father Christmas here beginning to sing his Carol—of which two are commonly in use: 'While Shepherds watch their flock by night' and 'Hark the Herald Angels Sing' &c."

AN ALLUSION TO *RAOUL DE CAMBRAI*

In *Ma bella domna* of Folquet de Romans there is the following allusion to the epic *Raoul de Cambrai*:

Ma bella domna, per vos dei esser gais,
c'al departir me dones un dolz bais,
tan dolzamen lo cor del cors me trais;
lo cor avez, domna, qu'eu lo vo lais
por tal coven qu'eu no'l volh cobrar mais;
que melh non pres a Raoul de Cambrais
ne a Flori, can poget el palais,
com fez a mi, car soi fins et verais,
ma bella domna. [vv. 1-9.]¹

As the reference to Floire indicates, this is an allusion to a more or less prominent scene of courtly love. In the existing version of *Raoul de Cambrai*² there is nothing to justify Raoul's reputation as an *homme à bonnes fortunes*; the only episode at all approximating a love-scene is that which deals with the appearance of Heluis at the obsequies of her lover (vv. 3657-3715), but this episode is fragmentary, and there is no reference therein to Raoul's felicity in love. Meyer and Longnon (p. 1) confess their inability to explain the allusion: "*Sans doute Raoul avait une amie, Heluis de Ponthieu; mais, au moins dans la rédaction que nous possédons, cette amie ne paraît qu'après la mort de son fiancé [tirades CLXXX-CLXXXII].*" Birch-Hirschfeld³ advanced the suggestion that *Raoul de Cambrais* was introduced because the strophe required a rhyme in *ais*—a suggestion that is far-fetched, to say the least. Zenker (p. 81) believes that the poem must have been known to Folquet de Romans in a version differing from ours; but the absence of any such version renders the suggestion purely hypothetical.⁴

¹ Edited by R. Zenker, Halle, 1896. No. 2, pp. 45-48.

² Edited by Meyer and Longnon, Paris, 1882. Société des Anciens Textes français.

³ *Ueber die den Troubadours bekannten epischen Stoffe*, p. 76.

⁴ There is no mention of Heluis in the Chronicle of Waulsort; cf. Meyer and Longnon, *op. cit.*, pp. xcix-civ. In its account of Raoul de Cambrai, it undoubtedly employs an anterior version of the poem. This version, now lost, is the only one that can be posited with any degree of assurance.

Nevertheless, this intriguing little problem admits of a solution and it is in our poem itself that it is to be sought. Following their theory that the poem as we have it is divided into two distinct parts, not only on the basis of rhyme¹ but of subject-matter as well, the second part being the work of an independent continuator, Meyer and Longnon have ignored the second part of their poem in their effort to find a possible source for the allusion in Folquet de Romans. Now this effort of the editors of the critical edition to set aside Part II as having no integral relation with Part I is hardly justified; and, indeed, several critics have already posited a certain degree of relationship between the two portions of the poem. Thus G. Paris² finds that "*La fin* (i.e., of Part II) *a un caractère de si grande et si haute poésie que je ne puis me résoudre à l'attribuer au jongleur du XIII^e siècle qui a composé d'autres épisodes*"; he considers that it must go back to the author of the latter portion of Part I. E. Sternberg³ considers that "*dem Geist des alten Liedes entspricht die Episode von der Wallfahrt nach Santiago. . . . Dieses Festhalten am gleichen Lokalinteresse⁴ lässt ursprünglichen Zusammenhang vermuten.*" Finally Tavernier, in his review of Fräulein Sternberg's work,⁵ confirms her viewpoint and then adds: "*Wie Ref. an anderem Ort ausführlicher begründen will, ist Raoul in der Tat eine einheitliche Dichtung.*"⁶

It is precisely in Part II of the poem that the passage referred to in the allusion of Folquet is to be sought. Laisses CCL-CCLIV form a love episode that is in sharp contrast with the rest of the poem. After an endless series of combats a reconciliation has just been effected between Bernier and Guerri. The latter takes his erstwhile antagonist with him to Arras. There Guerri's daughter, Beatrix, falls violently in love with Bernier, sends a messenger to him to bid him come to her, and when Bernier is in her presence tells him of

¹ The first 249 laisses are in rhyme; the rest of the poem is in assonance.

² *Journal des Savants*, 1887, p. 627.

³ *Das Tragische in den Chansons de Geste*, Berlin, 1915, p. 108.

⁴ She refers to the Origny episode, vv. 8371 ff.

⁵ In *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache u. Litteratur*, XLVI, p. 119.

⁶ Tavernier's death (April, 1916) prevented the appearance of the contribution that he promised; it is my intention in a subsequent paper to show that *Raoul de Cambrai* is a unified composition, and that the author of the original of Part I (which in its present form represents the "remaniement" of a continuator) is identical with the author of Part II.

her love in unequivocal fashion. Bernier, reluctant to accept the damsel's love at first because of his illegitimacy, is won over by her caresses, pending her father's consent.

Upon close examination, the likelihood that Folquet had this passage in mind grows upon us. The episode itself, of considerable length as such episodes go,¹ constitutes the only love element in the poem and its occurrence in this isolated form is striking. It is written with the stereotyped technique of the "roman courtois," and consequently would be likely to impress Folquet favorably.² Then again the juxtaposition of *Raoul de Cambrai* and *Floire et Blanceflor* is significant. What is it after all that Folquet is trying to express in the strophe that I have quoted above *in extenso*? It is the felicity of the lover, or more concretely the felicity of the lover caused by the "dolz bais" of line 2. "Such happiness as was mine upon receiving the kiss of my lady," says Folquet, "could not be surpassed by that of," and then he searches in his memory for appropriate terms of comparison. He finally decides upon two; of these the reference to *Floire et Blanceflor*, which is second in the enumeration, is perfectly obvious in its connotation, for the felicity of Floire in his lady's presence is described in great detail, particularly in a passage in which there is a significant repetition of the word "baisier":

Sus s'entrequeurent sans parler

.
De ses bras li uns l'autre lie,
Et en *baisier* chascuns s'oublie,
El *baisier* a une loée,
Qu'il font a une reposée.
Lor *baisiers* est de grant doucor,
Forment les asseüre amor. (vv. 2155-64.)³

To provide this allusion with a fitting companion reference, we may imagine that Folquet searched his memory and recalled that he had read a stern tale of one Raoul de Cambrai, a tale of blood and of vengeance, and that, like an oasis in this desert of feudal passion, there occurred a [to him] delightful little episode concerning a lover

¹ Lines 5595-5765.

² Of course, at the time of the composition of Part II [c. 1200] the love treatment in the "chansons de geste" was closely akin to that of the "roman courtois." For a detailed analysis of the Bernier-Beatrix episode, cf. Krabbes, *Die Frau im altfrz. Epos*, Marburg, 1884; Vol. XVIII of Stengel's *Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen*; Index, s. v. Tochter des Gerl.

³ Edited by Edélestand Du Ménil, Paris, 1856. *Bibliothèque elzévirienne*.

whose felicity was described therein in detail, and who, like himself and like Floire, had been rendered joyful by his lady's kiss. Folquet might have had in mind such passages as these:

Si com il vienent, cort l'un l'autre *baisier*.
Ci s'entracolent nus n'en doit mervillier,
Car ele est bele et il bons chevaliers. (vv. 5665-67.)

Sor . j . brun paile li . j . lez l'autre siet,
Et li mesaiges se traist . j . poi arier,
Et cil commencent belement a plaidier
De riches diz, de toutes amisties. . . . (vv. 5674-77.)

A icest mot l'a B. acolée,
Et ele lui, grant goie ont demenée.
L'un *baise* l'autre par bone destinée. (vv. 5747-49.)

B. l'oi, si l'en a merciée,
Et a cest mot *baisie* et acolée. (vv. 5763-64)

Only the details of the poem having by this time become confused in his mind¹—it is not likely that he would have been impressed by the grim and monotonous details of combat in which the poem abounds—Raoul de Cambrai usurps in his memory the rôle which was Bernier's of right.

If this hypothesis be accepted, and I think that it is decidedly more promising than those hitherto proposed, it points to a reasonably wide dissemination of the second part of the poem, contrary to the opinion of Meyer and Longnon,² and plainly indicates that Parts I and II represented one unified composition in the mind of Folquet. This essential unity of the poem as we have seen was posited by Tavernier, and in my estimation will be confirmed by a careful study of both parts of the poem.

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¹ This supposition is plausible in view of the relative chronology of the two poems. Although G. Paris considers that the second part of *Raoul de Cambrai* was composed ca. 1150 [*Journal des Savants*, 1887, p. 627], the consensus of opinion points to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century: cf. Meyer and Longnon, *op. cit.*, p. iv; Nyrop, *Ep. fr.*, p. 201; W. Kalbfleisch, *Die Realien in dem altfrz. Epos "Raoul de Cambrai"*, Glessen, 1897, pp. 67-68; Gröber, in *Grundriss*, II, I, p. 567. As for *Ma bella donna*, Zenker (*op. cit.*, p. 20) places the date of its composition at between 1212 and 1220.

² *Op. cit.*, p. xlv.

MINOR DISCIPLES OF RADICALISM IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

I

In a period of intellectual and social upheaval, like that of the French Revolution, when issues of tremendous import can not be evaded by any thinking man, a characteristic phenomenon is the birth of a spirit of ardent discipleship. In such a time neutrality is out of the question. Men passionately attach themselves to those leaders who voice most eloquently the principles with which they are in sympathy. Burke, by his destructive analysis of much of the fallacious reasoning that supplied the philosophical background of the French Revolution, and by his powerful statement of the political principles upon which rested the established order, was the bulwark of congenital conservatives as well as of men of liberal spirit who were in the habit of thinking sanely and cautiously. Innumerable Englishmen there were who, appalled, like Gibbon, by "the wild measures of the savages of Gaul," saw in Burke's *Reflections* "a most admirable medicine against the French disease," and hoped that England would not be "seduced to eat the apple of false freedom."¹

On the other hand, there were restless thousands who were hostile to existing institutions. Stirred by the promise of a new social system in accord with glowing ideals of justice and universal philanthropy, they rallied, with a partisanship no less vehement, about such uncompromising radicals as Tom Paine and William Godwin. What one of his disciples, Thomas Clio Rickman, thought of Paine is a rubric on the spirit of the age. It was in Rickman's house that Paine completed the second part of *The Age of Reason*, and on the table on which it was written the admiring householder placed an appropriate commemorative tablet.² It followed naturally enough that when Joel Barlow omitted Paine's name from *The Columbiad* in fear lest Paine's

¹ *Memoirs of Edward Gibbon and a Selection from His Letters*, edited by Henry Morley, London, 1891, pp. 227, 259, 265, 273.

² *His Life of Thomas Paine*, London, 1819, p. 11.

theological opinions should militate against the sale of the book, Rickman recorded a violent judgment; such an intentional neglect in a history of America was, he declared, equivalent to the omission of "God when creation is the subject."¹ The fervors of discipleship flaunted themselves even more comically when Rickman called his unoffending and defenseless children Petrarch, Paine, Washington, Volney, and Rousseau.² The custom of thus tagging children was prevalent in democratic families, and in consequence no defender of liberty in the course of history was likely to be without his budding namesake. Such sentimental excesses invited and deserved ridicule; in an anti-Jacobin novel of the time, the satirized Rousseauist, Mr. Cloudley, names his girls, Lucretia and Amazonia, and his boys, Tom Paine, Brutus, Voltaire, and Hercules.³

Paine was a man of action, energetic and resourceful. William Godwin was of a very different temper, a phlegmatic philosopher and a harsh, exacting formalist. Yet his *Political Justice* (1793), an amalgamation of the ideas of Rousseau, Helvetius, and Holbach, announced with such dogmatic confidence the perfectibility of the race and the gradual approach of a millennium, inhabited by utterly rational, benevolent men, that many of Godwin's contemporaries, sensitive to the appeal of humanitarianism, espoused his doctrines with enthusiasm. Relish of Lamb's wit which played easily and agilely about Godwin's ponderous personality, or amusement at the old philosopher's undignified efforts to extract money from his friends and acquaintances—really a painful situation if one reads his letters with an open mind—should not blind us to the fact that throughout his life, even long after a strong tide of reaction had set in against the radicalism of the French Revolution, and when Godwin was living in seclusion, he possessed the power to win followers and to influence deeply their lives and their thought. Students of the greater romantic poets, interested in the effect of the French Revolution upon our literature, have given abundant attention to the problem of Godwin's relation to Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, and Shelley. Very

¹ Rickman, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

² *Letters of Shelley*, edited by Roger Ingpen, London, 1909, I, XXXVIII. See also *Letters from England* by Don Manuel Espriella, translated from the Spanish. First American edition, Boston, 1808, p. 105.

³ Charles Lucas, *The Infernal Quizots*, 4 vols, London, 1801.

wisely, emphasis has been laid, for example, upon *The Borderers* as Wordsworth's disillusioned judgment of the philosophy of reason, and upon Shelley's letter of self-introduction and revealing correspondence with his chosen master.

A reading of the minor literature of the period—memoirs, letters, and diaries—discloses more fully the extent and character of Godwin's influence. Just as these intimate, personal records reveal the human situation, sometimes humorous, sometimes distressing, which was created when fervid young idealists avowed their sympathy with anarchistic thought, so we see the great poets in a different perspective and are more tolerant of their enthusiasms. In justice to Godwin it might be said that in spite of all his faults, his friendship for the young men who sought him out partook somewhat of the spirit that Johnson ascribes to Jordan of Pembroke College: "Whenever a young man becomes Jordan's pupil, he becomes his son." Relatives and friends who did not share the enthusiasm of the younger generation for the new doctrines were, however, alarmed and bitterly resentful against Godwin when they discovered that youths to whom they were attached had been corrupted, as they believed, by the principles of *Political Justice*. Dr. Samuel Parr, after his famous Spital Sermon in which he unmasked Godwin's theory of universal benevolence, was pressed for an explanation of his conduct. In reply he returned Godwin's gift of *St. Leon* unread, and broke off his friendship by letter, bluntly telling Godwin that one of his reasons for doing so was his realization of "the dreadful effects of your opinions upon the conduct, the peace, and the welfare of two or three young men, whose talents I esteemed, and whose virtues I loved."¹ It is not difficult to understand how it was that at a time when principles were either bitterly attacked or passionately defended, the issues of the French Revolution tended to disrupt social life; Gibbon's half-angry lament over the discordant social intercourse of Lausanne might have been repeated in almost any city or town in England.

Such a study as this in which we shall be concerned with men whom, for convenience, we may call Godwin's minor disciples, will give fuller meaning to Crabb Robinson's claim that "the French Revolution turned the brains of many of the noblest youths in England," and that

¹ Kegan Paul, *William Godwin*, 2 vols, London, 1876, Vol. I, p. 383.

in their allegiance to its doctrines some were wrecked, and some lived to laugh at their youthful extravagance.¹ One is bound to misjudge these young idealists if he does not constantly recognize their errors as frequent, but their motives as pure and unselfish. Little is accomplished in the way of a critical estimate if one sees the revolutionary spirits merely as hair-brained visionaries deserving of laughter or censure. On such an unsympathetic attitude toward independent thought, Louisa Alcott uttered a wise word of explanation; she had in mind the sad failure of her father's scheme of an utopian community at Fruitlands. "To live for one's principles, at all costs, is a dangerous speculation; and the failure of an ideal, no matter how humane and noble, is harder for the world to forgive and forget than bank robbery or the great swindles of corrupt politicians."² Too many contemporaries of the French Revolution as well as its subsequent critics forgot—Professor James phrased the idea admirably—that, scorned though they be by the world, "faiths and utopias are the noblest exercise of the human reason."

II

Francis Place, a familiar and esteemed name in the history of English radicalism, had a remarkable career (1771–1854). His account of his early life is an extraordinary narrative, tragically earnest, distressingly vivid, telling of a cruel struggle with privation and of the efforts of a self-respecting, persevering workingman to make good and to keep from being swept to ruin in the social undertow.³ His father was, in turn, keeper of a debtor's prison, proprietor of a public-house, and gambler. At home he was a brute who struck at his children with his fist whenever he chanced to encounter them in the passageway. Place, as a child, knew all the poverty, vice, and degradation to be found in the slums of eighteenth-century London. By sheer force of character and native intelligence he worked his way

¹ *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, 2 vols., Boston, 1898, Vol. I, p. 35.

² "Transcendental Wild Oats" in *Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands*, compiled by Clara Endicott Sears, New York, 1915, p. 169.

³ Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, London, 1898. The material for his work Mr. Wallas obtained from Place's unpublished autobiography and the huge collection of Place MSS (seventy volumes), in the British Museum. The autobiographical narrative forms the bulk of the first chapter.

up from the position of journeyman breeches-maker to that of a prosperous tailor with a splendid shop of his own in Charing Cross, and, self-educated, he fitted himself to become the welcome companion and intimate friend of James Mill and Jeremy Bentham.

Place, when a young man of twenty-two, became acquainted with *Political Justice* immediately upon its publication, for it was in 1793, he tells us, that Godwin led him to disbelieve in abstract rights. Moreover, strange as it may seem, in spite of the visionary character of much of its speculation, this book influenced Place to his profit in a most practical fashion. It appears that he long had been anxious to become an independent employer on his own account, but that he had been hampered by the honorable fear that the debts he would be compelled to contract in order to establish himself would, if he should fail, involve others in disaster. In addition he was haunted by a dread of personal ruin and the painful uncertainty of such an enterprise as he contemplated. "Mr. Godwin's book extinguished this fear in me. It led me to reason on the matter, and convinced me that a man might turn others to account in every kind of undertaking without dishonesty, that the ordinary tricks of tradesmen were not necessary, and need not be practiced. This was to me the most grateful kind of knowledge I could acquire, and I resolved to lose no time in putting it into practice."¹ This was in 1795. Four years later, Place opened his own tailor shop in Charing Cross—the shop which in time became notorious as the meeting place of liberal politicians and reformers of various creeds who met in a back room, surrounded by Place's splendid collection of radical books.² Although Godwin's critics, panic-stricken defenders of the traditional moral order—novelists like George Walker and Charles Lucas, and ministers like Robert Hall and Samuel Parr—were probably just in their denunciation of Godwinian individualism as sanctioning a dubious egoism;³ yet, as Place's conduct indicates, the doctrine could and did operate beneficially. It encouraged his initiative and stimulated his energies, and all this with due regard for the rights of others. Many years later, when he had met Godwin, and when he was able to express a

¹ Wallas, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

² *Op. cit.*, chap. vii.

³ See present writer's article, "The Reaction against William Godwin," *Modern Philology*, XVI (1918), 225 ff.

mature judgment, Place, with a deep sense of his obligation, told Godwin that to the influence of his writings he owed all those qualities which he respected most in himself.¹

Godwin speculated about social problems with a peculiarly frigid detachment from the swirling current of contemporary affairs. Rarely did he issue from his study to exchange the rôle of an imperturbable philosopher for that of an eager combatant. In 1794 in his pamphlet, *Strictures on Judge Eyre's Charge*, he powerfully attacked the position of the government in its prosecution of Hardy, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke for treason, and upon their acquittal was hailed as their savior.² In 1795 in his *Considerations on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Pitt's Bills concerning Treasonable and Seditious Practices*, he defended the government in its attempt to check the activities of overzealous reformers and was, accordingly, charged with inconsistency and disloyalty by Thelwall who felt Godwin had gone out of his way to abuse men with whose principles he was fundamentally in sympathy.³ But such methods of challenging public attention were very exceptional with Godwin. This was not the case with his followers, however. They did not, as a rule, imitate his habitual aloofness. The youthful Place, like Shelley many years later, was eager to expedite social evolution, and as his mind ripened and his interests widened, he associated himself, more practically than Shelley it must be confessed, with movements that aimed at the amelioration of social and political conditions.

From 1793 Place was active as an organizer of trades-unions and protective societies for workingmen. In June, 1794, at the request of his landlord, he joined the London Corresponding Society, founded two years previously by Thomas Hardy, the shoemaker, for the purpose of securing universal suffrage and annual parliaments. Place's

¹ Wallas, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

² Tooke, who always looked upon *Political Justice* with irreverent skepticism, at first doubted whether the visionary Godwin was capable of delivering such a hard, direct blow at a concrete wrong as had been effected in the pamphlet against Eyre. But when at a dinner at which both were guests, Godwin assured him of the authorship, Tooke kissed the philosopher's hand, "vowing that he would do no less by the hand that had given existence to that production." Passage from Godwin's diary in Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, I, 147.

³ Charles Cestre, *John Thelwall*, London, 1906, p. 137 and Appendixes II, III; the *Tribune*, a periodical publication, consisting chiefly of the political lectures of John Thelwall, 3 vols., London, 1796, Preface of Vol. II.

See present writer's article, "William Godwin's Influence upon John Thelwall," *PMLA*, XXXVII, No. 4.

procedure at this time did the highest credit to his courage and earnestness of conviction. Hardy, Thelwall, and their fellow-radicals had been arrested in May, and were awaiting trial. The action of the government had terrified many members into withdrawal from the Society, with the result that its membership was so depleted that Place and many sincere men like him felt it a moral obligation to join the Society when its existence was threatened. The superior abilities of Place soon made themselves felt, and he became a delegate to, and later the chairman of, the influential General Committee which met in Thelwall's lecture-room in the Beaufort Buildings in the Strand. Along with John Thelwall and John Binns, Place was one of the speakers at the notorious public meeting at Copenhagen House on October 26, 1795, where a vast crowd of liberals, estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand, assembled to protest against the war with France. As the meeting was followed a few days later by an attack on the king, when he was on his way to Parliament, the Ministry, panic-stricken, rushed through the Pitt-Grenville Bill for the suppression of gatherings of a supposed seditious character. From the first, the government had suspected that the Corresponding Society was in secret league with the French Jacobins, and had regarded its announced purpose, parliamentary reform, as merely a disguise for its actual intention, the overthrow of the monarchy and establishment of a republic. This charge Place brands as "a base lie," but John Binns, chairman of the meeting at Copenhagen House, affirms that secretly many avowed the destruction of the government as the real aim of the organization.¹ The suspicious attitude of the government was parallel to that of our own contemporaries who, in every country outside of Russia, justly view with distrust certain labor-groups and parlor-reformers because there is widespread uncertainty as to the exact nature of their relation to the Soviet.

These matters, although they do not bear directly on Place's relationship to Godwin, nevertheless deserve more than passing mention because they demonstrate that the young idealist living in the cool gray cloisters of a university, a Coleridge or a Southey, was not the only type of man that was stirred by *Political Justice*. Place

¹ Wallas, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 27. Charles Cestre, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 123. *Recollections of the Life of John Binns*, written by himself, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 45.

was not a poet, but, as we have seen, an energetic, practical reformer, who had battled with the most sharp-edged of life's realities, and was himself one of the very class that has always been bruised most by the heel of oppression. The contrast is arresting and illuminative of the spirit of the age: the appeal of Godwin to the young intellectuals of Oxford and Cambridge as well as to the hard-working young tailor and intelligent labor-leader of Charing Cross.

Just because he "had benefited in no small degree by his writings"—the words are Place's own—Place cordially welcomed in 1810 Godwin's offers of friendship. What follows is a sordid tale. The real motive for Godwin's advances was soon disclosed. Having heard, in all probability, of Place's prosperity and his interest in the doctrines of *Political Justice*, Godwin sought financial assistance, and claimed that if he could receive three thousand pounds, his present embarrassment would be relieved, and his book business permanently stabilized. Many years later in his diary, Place makes the serious charge that the accounts which were presented to substantiate the request were deliberately tampered with to make out a good case. Whatever the facts of the matter, Godwin was to be pitied. He was a wretched creature, compelled in 1808 to open his book-shop under the feigned name of Edward Baldwin on account of the bitter prejudice against him, and now, in such an emergency, driven to bay for lack of funds. In 1811 he wrote to Mrs. Godwin how he suffered when he discovered that a note from Place for £140 fell due in a few days.¹ In 1814, as was, however, almost inevitable, Place, after an exchange of bitter letters, became alienated from Godwin.² Ironically enough, the acquaintance that he had welcomed had cost him £400, a high price for philosophical inspiration. As for Godwin, one must deplore the circumstances that made him exact such high taxes from his friends and disciples. His reputation has suffered severely in consequence.

An impressive example of the parentage of ideas, embodied in epoch-making books, is the fact that Malthus' famous *Essay on Population* (1798), which suggested to Darwin his conception of the struggle for existence, was itself the outgrowth of a critical attitude toward some of Godwin's remarks in his essay on *Avarice and Pro-*

¹ Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, II, 182.

² Wallas, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58, 59.

fusion in *The Enquirer* (1797). In its inception, Malthus' *Essay*, which in later editions was much revised, was a reaction against the revolutionary doctrine of perfectibility and, for the most part, consisted of a refutation of Condorcet and Godwin. It is a contention of Malthus that population always tends to increase more rapidly than the means of subsistence. The number of persons in need of food would consequently, in a short time, be far greater than the number the food-supply could satisfy were it not for the beneficently fatal effects of misery, vice, war, and pestilence which are nature's instruments for the maintenance of a balance between population and the means of subsistence. Misery and vice, then, are necessary evils since it is their function to cut down the population until it is proportional to the food-supply. At this point Malthus takes issue with Godwin. The latter, insisting upon reason as man's supreme attribute, had argued that as it came to exercise gradually increasing authority over the conduct, social evolution would be hastened until there would finally arrive a millennium in which the lower impulses of our nature would be under the complete control of mind. Against Godwin, Malthus, rejecting the conception of man as a purely intellectual being, and the whole idea of the ultimate extirpation of sexual passion, contends that the strength of the generative instinct will always act to increase the population beyond the food-supply, vice and misery will always be the agents by which overpopulation must be checked, and progress toward a millennium is impossible. To attempt to ameliorate human suffering is futile, because the moment it is relieved in any quarter, the birth-rate pushes the population up to and beyond the extreme limits of subsistence, and in a short time the same wretchedness exists as before.

It is not difficult to see why most revolutionary liberals recoiled in horror from the cynicism of the Malthusian theory. They resented the implication that their faith in social improvement was absurdly visionary, and that vice and misery must be accepted as a matter of course—in fact, as blessings in disguise to prevent worse calamities. They rightly saw that the tendency of such a theory which accounts for misery as a permanent force in society is to give tremendous sanction to things as they are, and to make men complacent in the presence

of misery. This is Godwin's feeling in his soberly considered reply to Malthus in his *Thoughts on Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon* (1801). Reluctant to relinquish his optimism, he points out that as intelligence advances, prudence, now only moderately influential, may be relied upon to accomplish the results now accredited by Malthus solely to the operation of misery and vice.

The Malthusian controversy drew Place into its current. In the first place, it involved Godwin who had been to him a source of intellectual stimulus, and in the second place, it raised issues that had to be faced by every social reformer, no matter what his stripe. With the numerous economic questions discussed in Place's book, *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population*, we are not concerned. What is significant for our purpose is the fact that although Place accepted the Malthusian doctrine, yet the principle which he energetically advocated was that of moral restraint. In other words, he pays marked deference to the very idea by which Godwin had moderated the stark severity of Malthus' theory in its original form.¹ His practice conformed to his theory. Whenever he could in newspaper articles or in discussion with workingmen, he preached the doctrine of self-control, and, in consequence, gained so much notoriety that people shunned him.²

Place's opinion as to these problems enables him to hold fast to his faith in social evolution. In proportion as moral considerations act as a check upon unlimited child-bearing, and education in these matters is successfully carried on among the poor, he is convinced that vice and misery will gradually decrease.³ For this unshaken belief in social improvement, Place definitely records his indebtedness to Godwin.⁴ Indeed, the conception of society, not as inflexible or static, but as capable of growth and infinite change, was one of the most valuable contributions of philosophical radicalism to thought in the eighteenth century. This idea which Godwin borrowed from Helvetius is the core of *Political Justice*, and accounts largely for the appeal of the book to the imagination of the time. Although there is

¹ *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population*, London, 1822, pp. 9, 15, 164.

² Wallas, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

³ Place, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

no evidence to show that Place accepted any of the grotesque phases of Godwin's theory, yet the fact remains that Godwin had excited his interest in social progress, and had convinced him of its truth in principle, if not in all those specific, minute details upon which Godwin had ventured to the point of absurdity.¹

In contrast to Place, Shelley took his stand unequivocally outside the ranks of the Malthusians. For him the doctrine is a mere "sophism" and is "calculated to lull the oppressors of mankind into a security of everlasting triumph."² In its appearance at this time he sees only further evidence of that spiritual exhaustion that, following the failure of the idealism of the revolutionary period, had been infecting both imaginative literature and philosophical speculation. When, in a spirit of militant pride, Shelley confesses to "a passion for reforming the world," he states it as his uncompromising preference that he would "rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon than go to Heaven with Paley and Malthus."³ Moreover, Shelley is far from admitting that Malthus had overturned Godwin's perfectibility-theory. He contends that when Malthus, in the later editions of his *Essay*, considers that, in civilized societies, moral restraint tends to keep a check upon population just as do vice and misery in savage communities, he disarms his doctrine of its menace, and eliminates the very element that was inimical to social improvement. Shelley scores his point in a note of triumph. Malthus' concession "reduces the *Essay on Population* to a commentary illustrative of the unanswerableness of *Political Justice*."⁴

¹ One of Godwin's contemporaries justly reminds us that the follies of his perfectibility-theory were, in a measure, countenanced by the extravagances of even such a scientist as Franklin, and, in proof, he quotes from the latter's letter to Priestley (February 8, 1780): "We may perhaps learn to deprive large masses of their gravity, and give them absolute levity, for the sake of easy transport. Agriculture may diminish its labours, and double its produce; all diseases may, by sure means, be prevented or cured (not excepting even that of old age), and our lives lengthened at pleasure, even beyond the antediluvian standard." *An Enquiry concerning the Population of Nations*, George Enson, London, 1818, p. 84.

These ideas as to the diminution of toil, the elimination of disease, and longevity are elements in Godwin's conception of a millennium, and are the grounds on which he was frequently mercilessly satirized.

² Preface, *The Revolt of Islam*.

³ Preface, *Prometheus Unbound*.

⁴ Preface, *The Revolt of Islam*, footnote. See James Bonar, *Malthus and His Work*, New York, 1885, pp. 212, 213, 214, for Coleridge's comments on Malthus.

III

In his autobiographical fragment, *Memoirs from Childhood*, William Hone (1780-1842), the notorious radical whose name is of such frequent occurrence in letters and diaries of the early decades of the nineteenth century, throws light on the currents of anti-revolutionary opinion.¹ His experience is an amusing and very human example of just what was likely to happen when the disciple of Godwinism was extremely immature. In Hone's account we can glimpse a panic-stricken parent, and imagine his angry expostulations as well as the youthful bravado with which the opinions, sharply challenged, were defended. Moreover, when the antecedents of Place and Hone are compared, one realizes in what contrasting environments Godwin's disciples were apt to spring up. Hone's father, a poor solicitor's assistant, was pious and conscientious. He restricted his son to a rigorous fare, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Paradise Lost*, the *Book of Martyrs*, and the *Dictionary of All Religions*. But even such austere reading did not render the boy immune from heretical doctrines then circulating in every stratum of society. Hone afforded only another instance of the capitulation of "the seven deadly virtues" to revolutionary liberalism.

Hone's deviation from traditional belief took place in his sixteenth year just about the time that he had been reading the *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*. He was a clerk in a solicitor's office, and became intimate with a bold young convert to the new philosophy who had gorged himself upon Godwinian sophistries, the omnipotence of reason, the ultimate abolition of government, and the millennial joys of absolute freedom. Stung by the ridicule with which his conservative notions were treated by this confident, superior youth, his elder by three long years, Hone surrendered to the "undeniable" arguments, and became convinced of the doom of Christianity and the authority of reason. The mischief, thus accomplished, was completed when Hone joined the London Corresponding Society, and in this and in other debating clubs with which he became affiliated, heard all the liberal doctrines of the day discussed with unremitting ardor.² The

¹ *Memoirs from Childhood* was published for the first time in Frederick Hackwood's valuable book, *William Hone, His Life and Times*, London, 1912. The *Memoirs* constitute the second chapter.

² I doubt the correctness of Mr. Hackwood's inference that the book which Hone says convinced him "that in Nature there was nothing but Nature" was by Godwin. Hone's words do not describe Godwin's philosophy, nor was anything that Godwin ever wrote, published, as far as I am aware, "in six-penny numbers."

distress of the elder Hone was great. He remonstrated with his son in vain; the individualistic philosophy had done its work. The youth defied his father and questioned his right to control him, "determined," he says "not to be swayed."

Hone remained loyal to his new principles for two years, and thought and read about them abundantly. Finally, when he sought outside the realm of mere speculation for concrete evidence of their actuality, he candidly admits that he found not a shred of proof, and forthwith his faith began to collapse. In the meantime, the elder Hone withdrew his son from the office in which he had been exposed to such shocking influences, and placed the young radical under a solicitor at Chatham who compelled him to attend church with humiliating regularity. But the end was not yet in sight. One day the disciple happened to see a philosopher who had preached perfectibility—undoubtedly Godwin—give way to violent rage at a trivial disappointment. This chance display of passion, that would have been "inexcusable" even in a child, hastened Hone's disillusionment, and from that moment he lost interest in the works of a man who had asserted the power of reason. Philosophers are sometimes like princes who, as Gibbon remarks, "to be admired must be seen in their proper point of view, which is often a pretty distant one."

Hone's rebellion against parental authority was only a typical instance of the demoralizing effect of individualistic doctrines upon immature minds, if we are to believe contemporary writers. According to their temperament, people who were completely content in the armchair of traditional opinion, viewed with alarm, disgust, or amusement the vogue of the new ideas among the younger generation. Hannah More laments the decay of filial obedience and complains that her contemporaries, regaled with endless discussions of the rights of adults, male and female, may now expect "grave descants on the rights of children."¹ In doggerel verse an anonymous critic of Paine burlesques the doctrine of equality thus:

Should a fond father say unto his son,
"Jacky, my dear, go, . . . hither bring my wig,"
The little rogue would think it excellent fun
To say—"not I, I'm equal, tho' not big."²

¹ *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, 3d edition, 2 vols., London, 1799, I, 145.

² *The Reformers*. A satirical poem. Edinburgh, 1793.

Nor was fiction indifferent to this issue of youthful independence. Dorothea Melville, the heroine of a three-volume anti-Godwinian novel, was put early under the care of a governess who was a disciple of the new philosophy. To such an extent was she imposed upon by the bold principles of her teacher that at sixteen Dorothea was an aggressive expounder of "the truth." She was stirred by the rights and wrongs of her sex, and shed tears "over the sublime ebullitions of Godwin's dear son, Caleb Williams." Acting upon her newly acquired beliefs she throws off the yoke of her governess; such control she resented as a form of despotism.¹

Of just such a situation Hone's proceedings were a fairly exact replica in actual life, and because the clash of opinion between the older and the younger generation is a profoundly significant and recurrent social phenomenon, modern literature, it is relevant to point out, has been neither unobservant nor silent. In *Rosmersholm*, Ibsen depicts a parallel struggle in our own time. Schoolmaster Kroll has the psychology of his type; he is the rigidly conservative parent, unspeakably shocked when he discovers that new ideas have invaded his own home and that his children are the adherents of a radical journalist. We may be certain that Kroll's hostility to the editor of the *Searchlight* re-echoes with authentic realism and under changed conditions the feeling of many an eighteenth-century father against the author of *Political Justice*.

IV

It seemed ordained that in the last decade of the eighteenth century nearly every young man of active intelligence and quick sympathy should, to a greater or less extent, be infected by revolutionary principles. Basil Montague, the mutual friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge and inadvertently responsible for their tragic estrangement, caught the contagion of Godwinism in his young manhood. His social position was very different from that of either Place or Hone. The natural and acknowledged son of the Earl of Sandwich, he received a splendid education at the Charterhouse and at Christ's College, Cambridge.² In 1795 he left the university town and went to London

¹ *Dorothea, or a Ray of the New Light*, London, 1801, I, 14, 15.

² Montague's long and interesting autobiographical letter is in the *Memoirs of the Life of Sir James Mackintosh*, edited by his son, 2d edition, 2 vols., London, 1836, I, 149 f.

where he found that Godwin's startling ideas about universal benevolence, omniscient reason, gratitude, and marriage were in the full tide of discussion. As he says, "It is scarcely possible to conceive the extensive influence which these visions had upon society." For a time Montague himself felt the spell of these ideas, and his conduct was affected accordingly. He had long been an ardent student of law, but Godwin's denunciation of the legal profession as a buttress of a fraudulent social structure made him recoil from the pursuit in which he had been engaged.

One incident which Montague recounts is trivial in itself, but it is significant of the hostility aroused by many of Godwin's fundamental ideas. In *Political Justice*, gratitude along with friendship, family affection, and patriotism had been dismissed from the company of the virtues because these feelings limit our benevolence to those to whom we are attached, whereas justice requires that the good we are able to do should not be regulated by personal preference, but by the capacity of the individual we help to aid mankind. Obviously, according to this view, gratitude is in conflict with universal philanthropy, and hence anything but a virtue. As a loyal Godwinian, John Thelwall, for example, is thoroughly consistent when he carefully explains in one of his published lectures that his regard for the lawyers responsible for his acquittal in the state-trials of 1794 is not gratitude, but esteem for their service to liberty.¹ At another lecture Thelwall is no less consistent when he refuses admiration to canine fidelity, scorning that among human virtues should be placed that gratitude which an indiscriminating dog, ignorant of Godwinism, manifests to his benefactor, whether he be an assassin or an honest householder. Small wonder that Thelwall was repeatedly interrupted by the derisive laughter of his audience.² Similarly young Montague was ideological and true to form as a Godwinian; unabashed, he evidently paraded his novel ideas. At any rate, he was introduced to Sheridan as a man who believed that gratitude was a vice. Sheridan replied: "I always thought that *reading* was a vice, and I am now convinced of it."

Conservative public opinion concurred with Sheridan. When it was reported to Burke that Godwin looked upon gratitude as nothing

¹ *The Tribune*, I, 222 f.

² *Introductory Discourse on the Nature and Objects of Elocutionary Science*, Pontefract, 1805. *A Letter to Francis Jeffrey*, Edinburgh, 1804.

less than a crime, he said that he would see to it that the philosopher was given no excuse for committing that sin.¹ Of course, the *Anti-Jacobin* did not overlook this kink in Godwin's ethical system. In the sixth number appeared the comical letter of Letitia Sourby who laments the topsy-turvydom of her home since her father, "a respectable manufacturer in the calico line," became befuddled over Godwinism. He embarrasses her mother by asserting before company that he would prefer concubinage, and declaring gratitude to be "a bad passion," quarrels with his landlord because the latter had formerly made him a loan to set him up in business. Mr. Sourby is full of resentment; "he said he could not abide a man who had laid upon him the weight of an obligation." These are indications of the temper of the time, and suggest the intellectual atmosphere which young Montague encountered when he came up to London from Cambridge.

Montague was not, however, so confirmed in his opinions as to be inhospitable to criticism. He kept his mind open, and deliberately sought out people who were capable of discussing the merits or the defects of the new philosophy. In this liberal spirit he saw to it that (at the home of a common friend) he met Sir James Mackintosh, the eminent publicist, who, as he had heard, had thought deeply and much upon the unsettling questions of the hour, and was interested in young men with inquiring minds. Mackintosh weighed Montague's difficulties with infinite tact and courtesy, and gradually set him in the way of looking at the Godwinian doctrines from a new angle. Especially did he urge the young inquirer to read Jeremy Taylor and Lord Bacon, and to test his ideas by observation and experience.

The upshot was that in his eagerness for enlightenment Montague read through *The Advancement of Learning* in a single day. The passage in Book I which impressed Montague most deserves quotation because it is an eloquent commentary on anarchistic philosophy:

In Orpheus' theatre all beasts and birds assembled, and forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening to the airs and accords of the harp, the sound whereof no sooner ceased or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit—

¹ *Review of Zeal without Innovation* in Vol. II of *Works of Robert Hall*, New York, 1832.

of lust—of revenge; which, as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence, and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion.¹

Montague recognized that here Bacon shatters the dream that man is by nature rational and benevolent and does not need the restraining influence of law and government. About this time, moreover, Montague visited a jail to aid a prisoner who was to go on trial for his life. The felons met him with insult, and the announcement of his generous purpose was greeted with, "Damn you, you scoundrel, you will be hanged yourself in a week." This welcome was more than enough to unsettle even a man who had probably read about the virtuous thieves in *Caleb Williams*. At any rate, Montague's unpleasant glimpse into the pure heart of man chastened his optimism, and he began to be "very sceptical upon the soundness of modern philosophy."

Taylor's *Discourse of the Nature, Offices, and Measures of Friendship* also aided in effecting Montague's cure. In this noble essay, written in answer to Mrs. Katherine Philips' inquiry as to "how far a dear and a perfect friendship is authorized by the principles of Christianity," Jeremy Taylor seems to have anticipated Godwin's arguments against friendship as incompatible with true justice. Taylor has the wisdom to see that universal benevolence, in the absolute sense which Godwin conceived it, is an impracticable ideal. Christianity teaches that we extend our good-will to all mankind; the more fellow-beings we embrace within the circle of our love, the better and the richer shall we be, but it is inevitable from the limitations of our being and the conditions of our existence that our interest will be less in those who are unseen and unknown to us. We are bound to love more those who have benefited us, whom we recognize as worthy of our affection, and with whom we have been associated in the intimacy of daily contact. Moreover, to be attached to him who has aided us is not, as Godwin maintained, ignoble egoism. Those qualities of character by which a friend is enabled to serve us—his generosity or his sagacity as the case may be—are precious virtues, "the

¹ I have given the passage as quoted by Montague who has omitted a few words at the very beginning.

impresses of God upon the spirits of brave men," and Christianity sanctions our love for the possessors of them. That Montague was impressed by this happy reconciliation of idealism and common sense is not surprising.

It is difficult to judge from Montague's autobiographical letter to Mackintosh's son just how long he remained an adherent of Godwinism. But I believe that his enthusiasm for the new philosophy was rapidly evaporating during the first six months of 1796. Montague surmises that Sir James Mackintosh, observing the good he had done the young radical, was inspired to give in 1799, for public benefit, his lectures upon "The Law of Nature and Nations." These lectures in which Godwin said he was treated "like a highwayman or an assassin," Montague was invited to attend, and he did so with profit and delight.¹ His interest in Bacon, stimulated by Mackintosh, remained with him all his life, and resulted, finally, in the publication of an edition of Bacon said to be the best before that of Spedding. Montague's attempt to deal leniently with Bacon aroused Macaulay, and the famous *Essay* followed in the *Edinburgh Review* (July, 1837). Thus by a curious chain of circumstances Godwin became indirectly responsible for one of the most widely read of Macaulay's works.

According to Kegan Paul, Montague became acquainted with Godwin in 1795, and he soon became his intimate friend. In 1797 the men journeyed together through Staffordshire, and visited such celebrities as the Wedgewoods, Dr. Samuel Parr, and Robert Bage, author of the revolutionary novel, *Hermesprong*. A few months after their return, Mary Wollstonecraft was on her death-bed, and during the terrible days of suspense Montague was constantly by Godwin's side. At the end he had charge of the funeral arrangements, and for his incessant kindness deservedly gained Godwin's appreciation.² It is very evident that however Montague's philosophical opinions had changed, the friendship of the master and former disciple remained steadfast.

¹ For Godwin's account of his controversy with Mackintosh, see his pamphlet, *Thoughts Occasioned by . . . Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon* (1801). For Coleridge's consoling letter to Godwin, see Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, II, 11.

² Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, I, 247-67; 274-83. Godwin, *Memoirs and Posthumous Works of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin*, 2 vols., Dublin, 1798, I, 109-10.

In *Nightmare Abbey*, Peacock, pleasantly satirizing Coleridge's later conservatism, says that the poet concluded that "the overthrow of the feudal fortresses of tyranny and superstition was the greatest calamity that had ever befallen mankind and that their only hope now was to rake the rubbish together and rebuild it without any of those loopholes by which the light had originally entered." This was not the case with Basil Montague. Amusingly enough on a joint visit to Kenilworth Castle Godwin found Montague a very unsatisfactory companion. Montague resisted the romantic appeal of the ruin; not experiencing any of the divine enthusiasm "which swept over Godwin's soul," he railed against the display of aristocratic splendor and rejoiced at its destruction.¹ The truth is that Montague remained throughout his life, if not a Godwinian radical, at least a liberal in thought and action. He enlisted in generous causes, working for justice and humanity. He co-operated with Sir Samuel Romilly in his effort to reform the penal code, publishing pamphlets against capital punishment for trivial causes, and founded in 1809 the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge upon Punishment of Death. Again, with praiseworthy tolerance, he wrote in behalf of the Jews who were excluded from the House of Parliament.² Only in a qualified sense, then, can Basil Montague be regarded as a deserter from the ranks of reform. He was never, like Wordsworth, a "lost leader" who was able so far to forget the sympathies of his youth as to write a whole series of unctuous sonnets against the abolition of the extreme penalty.

V

Crabb Robinson's *Reminiscences* have long been in the hands of students of the period, and to comment upon his relations with Godwin may seem a work of supererogation.³ But, as a matter of fact little attention has been paid to the earlier parts of the *Reminiscences*, and in the present instance to ignore Robinson's account of his experience as a youthful radical is to neglect interesting and vivid facts,

¹ Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, I, 265-66.

² *A Letter to Henry Warburton upon the Emancipation of the Jews*. Second edition. London, 1833.

³ *Reminiscences*, chapters i-v inclusive.

reinforcing what has already been said about Godwin's appeal to the young men of his time. Having had his period of allegiance to revolutionary idealism, and suffered sharp criticism in consequence, Robinson was morally prepared for his later friendship with Wordsworth and Coleridge. Robinson, denounced by Dr. Robert Hall as the contaminator of youth, and Wordsworth, compelled as a suspected radical to give up Alfoxden, had had a common experience that quickened mutual sympathy and hastened an understanding of each other's vicissitudes.¹ It was not chance that moved the poets to include within the circle of their intimate friends men like Basil Montague and Crabb Robinson.

An impeccable logic led Dissenters to sympathize with the French Revolution. In the realm of thought they had asserted the rights of the individual judgment against dogmatic external authority, and had long been the victims of unjust social and political discrimination.² It was but a step from individualism in matters of conscience to individualism in politics. Naturally the Dissenters rejoiced in the new doctrine of liberty and the fall of arbitrary power which seemed to vindicate the principles for which they had long contended and suffered, and to promise the end of persecution. Godwin and Hone were both Dissenters, and Crabb Robinson likewise.³ Even in childhood Robinson had come to feel that he was a member of a persecuted sect, and as a boy sympathized with Dr. Priestley who had suffered outrageously in a Church and King riot in Birmingham. Before he was twenty years of age, Robinson became associated with the liberals of Norwich, contributed to a radical paper an article on *Spies and Informers*, and followed with demoralizing anxiety the trials of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall for treason. When at six in the morning he finally heard of Hardy's acquittal, he dashed about banging on people's doors and shouting out the news. The next year when Hardy came to Norwich, pursuing his trade of shoemaker, Robinson gave him an order for boots, as he continued to do for many years.

With a background such as these experiences provided, it is not surprising that Robinson was profoundly impressed by *Political*

¹ G. M. Harper, *William Wordsworth*, 2 vols., London, 1916, I, 323-29.

² For the relation of the Non-conformists to the French Revolution see Henri Rouasin, *William Godwin*, Paris, 1913, Introduction and Première Partie.

³ Harper, *op. cit.*, I, 245. For his projected liberal journal, *The Philanthropist*, the young Wordsworth expected to gain the support of the Dissenters.

Justice when in 1795 he read it at the warm recommendation of Catherine Buck, afterwards Mrs. Clarkson. By his own confession the book shaped his whole life; as in the case of Montague, it cooled his interest in the law, and above all stimulated his sense of social responsibility. With Robinson, as with Place, the adoption of Godwin's ideas did not, however, spell moral ruin as all Godwin's detractors claimed. Forthwith, in the first heat of discipleship, Robinson became Godwin's defender. He himself passes quickly over the matter, but a search of old newspaper files has disclosed the interesting details of the situation.

Benjamin Flower's *Cambridge Intelligencer* was one of the most virulent of the provincial papers with French sympathies; in the opinion of the editors of the *Anti-Jacobin* it was "a mass of loathsome ingredients . . . more false than the *Morning Post*, more blasphemous than the *Morning Chronicle*, and more devoted to the cause of Anarchy and Blood than that exploded vehicle of idiot frenzy, the *Courier*."¹ In Flower's paper, incongruously enough, had appeared a long letter from a perversely ingenious gentleman who had noted the violence of Godwin's attack upon established institutions and the failure of the government to prosecute either him or the bookseller. From these facts this political Shandy argued that a cunning ministry had deliberately commissioned Godwin to write a book which, by its very extravagance, should be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the doctrines that it exalted.² By this reasoning the *Political Justice* became a colossal irony, another *Modest Proposal* in two volumes. To the anonymous writer who had brought this "charge of blackest villainy" Robinson, then only twenty years of age, replied immediately. He deploras that such insinuations impair Godwin's power of social service, exalts his conception of benevolence and its accompanying strictures upon gratitude and promises, praises his reasoning as "perspicuous" and "convincing," and concludes with the rhetorical flourish of the eighteenth century.

I believe no one can rise from the perusal of the *Political Justice*, but his hatred of despotism must be increased, his love of virtue heightened, and his habits of benevolence confirmed, though he may occasionally censure his

¹ The *Anti-Jacobin*, No. 26.

² *Cambridge Intelligencer*, July 18, 1795

daring singularities which strike at the bases of many of our fixed ideas, or smile at systematick absurdities, or romantic speculations.¹

Robinson still continued the eager defender of Godwin as occasion arose. The following year, 1796, at the Royston bookclub before a considerable company of local intellectuals, the young Godwinian won credit by his presentation of his views. But he began to pay the penalty of his radicalism. His activities came to the ear of Robert Hall, one of the most distinguished Dissenting ministers of the time, and when Robinson next visited Bury, he discovered that his friend, Mr. Nash, of Royston, had been advised by Dr. Hall not to receive him. Robinson accepted Hall's challenge, and the ensuing correspondence, which is given in the *Reminiscences*, is an interesting revelation of the panic Godwin had caused among the orthodox. Dr. Hall admitted that as shepherd of a flock he had warned young people against Robinson as "a person who by the possession of the most captivating talents was likely to give circulation and effect to the most dangerous errors." The exchange of letters did not alter the convictions of either writer, but the frankness of each did create a mutual esteem that was lasting. It is not surprising that, his point of view being what it was, Dr. Hall subsequently preached and published two violent sermons against Godwin that had wide circulation and influence—*Modern Infidelity Considered* and *Sentiments Proper to the Present Crisis*.²

This correspondence took place in 1798; in 1800 Crabb Robinson left England for a visit to Germany. His account of his life in the intervening two years is largely a record of closer intimacy with the notorious radicals of his time. These affiliations were the inevitable outgrowth of similar intellectual sympathies; in due time Godwin was listed among his friends. Only with the gradual passage of time did Robinson come to modify his ideas. As he himself remarks, "the French Revolution turned the brains of many of the noblest youths in England. . . . Many were ruined by the errors into which they were betrayed; many also lived to smile at the follies of their youth." Robinson was one of the latter; he came to view the aberrations of his young manhood in a spirit of sagacious tolerance.

¹ *Cambridge Intelligencer*, August 1, 1795.

² Bohn's Library, *The Miscellaneous Works and Remains of the Rev. Robert Hall*, London, 1846.

VI

As the end of the century approached, the hostility to Godwin's ideas grew more bitter and the attacks upon him in novel, in pamphlet, and in sermon became more frequent. Neither tolerance nor intelligence distinguished his more rabid critics; it did not require moral courage to join the pack in full cry after the quarry. With firmness and admirable self-respect Godwin finally took up the challenge in his *Thoughts Occasioned by the Perusal of Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon* (1801) and it must be confessed that many of his critics deserved the contempt with which he referred to them—"the vulgar contumelies of the author of the Pursuits of Literature, novels of buffoonery and scandal to the amount of half a score, and British critics, Anti-Jacobin newspapers, and Anti-Jacobin magazines without number." Yet during this very period the *Political Justice* still possessed power to win disciples and stir the imagination of many of its readers. Moved by curiosity and admiration, they sought Godwin's acquaintance, not unlike Dr. Thomas Campbell, who came all the way from Ireland to see Dr. Johnson, and, having seen him, remarked it was "a thing to talk of a century hence." And at this time and later Godwin, in a rather remarkable fashion, retained his gift of winning the confidence of young men.¹

The evidence, scattered through the pages of Kegan Paul's *William Godwin, his Friends and Contemporaries*, is ample and interesting. Dr. James Bell, a distinguished physician of Edinburgh, about to take up his residence in Jamaica, requested from the publisher, James Ballantyne, a letter of introduction to Godwin; he did not wish to leave England without meeting the man whose writings had made upon him a deep and lasting impression.² When Dr. Christy's brother and sister were in London and showed Lamb every courtesy, he returned the obligation by inviting Godwin to tea to give his friends a much desired opportunity to see the philosopher "face to face."³ Many years later in 1830, Lady Caroline Lamb provided Bulwer Lytton, then a Cambridge student, with a letter which enabled

¹ For Godwin's relations with the actor, Thomas Cooper, see the present writer's article, "William Godwin and the Stage," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXV, 1920, 3.

² Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, I, 351.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 84.

the young enthusiast to meet Godwin; this interest, as has been suggested, accounts for similarities between the work of Godwin and the early novels of Bulwer.¹

In 1798, John Arnot, a clever young Scotchman with evidently substantial social connections, walked to London, and was soon received into Godwin's friendship. Godwin encouraged him to travel, and subsequently Arnot sent Godwin a narrative of his journey so that he might arrange for its publication. But his brother interfered, shocked that the manuscript was tainted with "sentiments which are visionary, and subversive of all social order, and yet (thank God) totally irreducible to practice." Arnot's family, as Mrs. Shelley afterward learned, came to feel very bitterly against Godwin for his influence over their young relative.² Significantly enough, the suppression of Arnot's manuscript at the behest of his family is an analogous instance of what probably took place in the case of Wordsworth. Professor Harper has surmised that the conspicuous scarcity of the poet's letters for the years 1792-93 is to be accounted for by his family's effort to conceal evidence of his revolutionary sympathies.³

Similarly illuminative are Godwin's relations with other youthful admirers. In 1819, a Cambridge student acknowledged his indebtedness to Godwin in these unqualified terms: "When I review my past life, and look for the causes that have operated to mould me into what I am, I always recur to the time I first read *Political Justice* September, 1815."⁴ To the letters that Godwin wrote to such young, impulsive adherents, no exception can be taken; his advice is sympathetic and wise. Finally, when Godwin was an old man, in the seventies, a curious request of an admirer indicates the influence he was still capable of exercising. A Mr. Cooke urges Mrs. Godwin to inform him in case her husband should be taken dangerously ill so that he might hasten to his bedside to aid him if he could, or if the sickness were fatal, to observe how a philosopher would meet death.⁵ Beside such hero-worship as this, Shelley's enthusiasms do not seem immoderate.

¹ Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, II, 302.

² *Ibid.*, I, 313, 342; II, 28.

³ Harper, *op. cit.*, I, 139, 199.

⁴ Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, II, 262.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 323.

Finally, even in our own time Godwin has stirred young radicals to eloquence and to epigram. During the war there fell into my hands a booklet, privately printed and fastidiously bound; its author, a New Yorker of Anglo-Saxon and Russian extraction, is jubilant because Godwin "was never whipped into obedience—obedience, the virtue of dogs and slaves and churchgoers." And at the close, this contemporary individualist records his praise of Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft for their struggle to bring it about "that some day the human race will exist without a government upheld by the bayonet of the soldier and the club of the policeman."¹

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¹ *William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft*, Victor Robinson, New York.

THE COMMITTEE ON MEDIAEVAL LATIN STUDIES¹

ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAM

This brief sketch has a double function. In the first place, it summarizes the activities and plans of an interdepartmental organization interested in the development of medieval Latin studies. In the second place, by serving as a preface to the accompanying report of a preliminary study of the condition of medieval Latin in the graduate colleges and universities of this country, it emphasizes the important fact that this report is only the result of an initial activity in a comprehensive program.

At the outset a recognition of certain significant facts will assist in any analysis of our problem. This is an age of scientific achievement and intense interest in all things modern. It is an age which tends to belittle its heritage whether classical, Victorian, or medieval. Its appeal for democracy in education becomes, even in the academic world, too often the basis for specious arguments in favor of the commercially marketable or the immediately useful. Its attitude toward disinterested humanistic scholarship is too frequently illustrated by the following incident told me recently by a distinguished medievalist. He had written to a woman of wealth and college training calling attention to the great need at his university for funds to purchase medieval manuscripts. To his letter he received the following laconic response: "Dear Professor Blank: I am not interested in medieval manuscripts; and I don't see why you or any one else should be."

Though the fundamental reason for this attitude is to be sought in the age itself, I do not believe the scholar in the humanities—and especially the medievalist—is entirely free from blame. As a rule, of course, the scholar writes from the seclusion of his study to others in the seclusion of theirs, and in a language familiar primarily to them. The frequent necessity of this I do not question. I believe,

¹ The Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies in its announcements customarily employs the spelling *ae* in Mediaeval. In this report the spelling *e* is used in accordance with the practice of *Modern Philology*.

however, that without prostituting our intellectual ideals we should at fitting times be able to present our material so as to make a wider appeal. Examples are not lacking that Maecenases are still in our midst and ready to be interested in humanistic and philological research as well as in the creative arts. And I believe that one of our first moves toward awakening an interest is a recognition through a definite organization and program of the importance of medieval Latin in relation to the classic past, to its own period, and to our own age.

I pause here to quote certain important statements concerning the place and significance of medieval Latin made at a symposium in connection with the Pacific Coast Philological Association in 1922:

Medieval Latin literature is no more a debased and corrupt copy of classical Latin literature than medieval Latin is of the language of Cicero and Caesar. . . . The value of this literature as compared with Greek or Latin or any given modern literature will be variously estimated. The important thing in connection with it is that it was independent and specially adapted to the society whose life it illustrated. . . . Till about the eleventh century the literature of Western Europe was almost exclusively in Latin. Without a reading knowledge of Latin and some acquaintance with medieval Latin literature, no one can do thorough work in linguistics, in prosody, in modern literatures, in history, or in philosophy.

Again:

The importance of a first-hand knowledge of medieval Latin literature to the student of modern literature may be most readily understood through observing the fact that various important kinds of intellectual activities of the Middle Ages were directly continued into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and thence into later times.

And finally:

The study of medieval Latin has suffered in America through being nobody's business in particular. There is still a widespread feeling that the language and literature are so inferior as to be negligible. . . . Many have retained the sentimental and distorted idea of the medieval mind which began in the eighteenth century; and the important middle division of man's intellectual history is still obscured by paradox and misunderstanding as well as by ignorance.

A survey of the records of the American Philological Association and the American Historical Association reveals that the indictment of the attitude in America is entirely justified. And

it is only too pertinent as applied to the Modern Language Association. Until 1920 the importance of medieval Latin was recognized officially only once. In December, 1908, Professor Warren, then President of the Modern Language Association, delivered as his presidential address "A Plea for the Study of Medieval Latin." This was not a comprehensive survey of the field, nor a summary of the problems. It did not attempt to suggest a plan of organization nor to present an outline of possibilities. One thing it did do, and do well. Through calling attention to some of the medieval Latin documents of a limited district and period, it showed how rich a field there is in medieval Latin for the student of medieval life.

The new era for medieval Latin begins with December, 1920. At that time Professor Manly, in an epoch-marking address as president of the Modern Language Association, outlined a program "for reorganization of the meetings with a view to greater specialization and greater stimulation of research and for working out through carefully chosen committees of plans for important investigations and for methods of aiding individual investigators." As a result of this recommendation, one of the groups organized during 1921 chose as its subject "The Influence of Latin Culture on Medieval Literature."

At the meeting held in Baltimore in December, 1921, this was constituted as a permanent group. During the spring of 1922, the organization of the committee was completed and a comprehensive program was initiated. From the beginning two elements were kept in mind in the organization: that it must be national instead of sectional in character; and that it must enlist the services of the best Latin medievalists from whatever department of study or from whatever learned association. In the first place, then, the country was divided geographically with Professors Gerould, Tatlock, and Coffman as chairmen for the East, the Pacific Coast, and the Middle West, respectively. Professor Rand, of the American Philological Association, accepted the general or advisory chairmanship. As a result of this organization, in December, 1922, at meetings of the American Philological Association, the Modern Language Association, and the Pacific Coast Philological Association a uniform program was presented.

After the meetings in December, 1922, it became evident that the interest had grown far beyond the organization with which it was then affiliated and that some kind of reorganization which would give the Latin medievalists from classics, history, and philosophy a place of equality with those from modern languages was necessary. Two possibilities for such reorganization were considered by the committee: the formation of an independent organization to be known as a society or academy for medieval Latin studies; or affiliation with some organization already in existence. At first the committee favored the former of these possibilities. But after correspondence and conference with Dean Haskins, chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies, the chairman and the secretary, with the approval of the other members, completed arrangements for the appointment as a standing committee of the American Council of Learned Societies of a committee on medieval Latin studies. In this decision there were at least four determining factors.

1. It avoids the necessity for the present of a new society at a time when, to use the words of Dean Haskins, "the organization of a new society carries a heavy burden of proof because of the number of existing societies."

2. It gives the committee the advantage of the Council's secretariat and of some of its funds for printing or mimeographing and distributing bulletins.

3. It puts all the organizations interested in medieval Latin on an equal basis in the committee and insures official recognition of this work by the learned societies, individually and collectively.

4. It insures a uniform program and concerted action in whatever agenda the committee may decide upon. In a word, the leaven remains in the individual organizations, but the committee constitutes a kind of matrix which gives cosmic life and unity to the body of medieval Latin as a whole.

In connection with 4, it is anticipated that the organizations interested will continue to have at their meetings special sections devoted to papers and discussions in the field of medieval Latin. The most comprehensive of such meetings, held in December, 1923, was the one at Princeton, under the chairmanship of Professor

Ullman, in connection with the American Philological Association. The following is the committee which Dean Haskins, chairman of the American Council, has appointed: Professor E. K. Rand (Classics), chairman, Professor C. H. Beeson (Classics), Professor J. S. P. Tatlock (Modern Languages), Professor G. H. Gerould (Modern Languages), Professor J. W. Thompson (History), Professor L. J. Paetow (History), Professor J. F. Willard (History), Professor M. de Wulf (Philosophy), Professor G. R. Coffman (Modern Languages), executive secretary.

Through the encouragement, initiative, or co-operation of this group the following concrete results have up to the present been attained:

1. The accompanying report on Medieval Latin in graduate colleges and universities represents an activity of the original committee of the Modern Language Association. It is based on the assumption that in order to unify and develop the work in Medieval Latin studies it is necessary first to know as much as possible of present conditions.

2. Professor Beeson has now nearly completed for publication a medieval Latin anthology for those who wish to begin or continue their studies in this field. This will include carefully graded specimens of medieval Latin from Cassiodorus to the time of Roger Bacon.

3. As a result of urgent requests Professor Paetow is writing a book entitled *The Revival of Interest in Mediaeval Latin* with the following tentative table of contents: chapter i, "Latin in the Middle Ages"; chapter ii, "The Humanists and Mediaeval Latin"; chapter iii, "Mediaeval Latin in Modern Times"; chapter iv, "Latin as an International Auxiliary Language"; chapter v, "The Revival of Interest in Mediaeval Latin in the Twentieth Century." Each chapter will include a critical bibliography.

4. In connection with the American Council of Learned Societies, the committee has interested itself in the international project for a new medieval Latin dictionary. Professor Beeson, chairman of a committee for this project and American representative on the international committee, attended the International Union of Academies in Brussels in April, 1922. The International Union of Academies is

now committed to a Latin lexicon to come down to about the year 1000. The organization is completed, the work is distributed, and Paris is to be the center with Professor Goelzer of the Sorbonne as director.

5. Through Professor Gerould, in co-operation with the American Library Association, the committee is initiating a plan for co-operative buying of medieval Latin materials so as to avoid unnecessary duplication. Professor Gerould has in mind also a bibliography of medieval Latin materials in the libraries of this country.

6. At the meeting of the British and American Professors of English at Columbia University last June the active co-operation of the English scholars was enlisted. Dr. G. G. Coulton, of St. John's College, Cambridge University, agreed to sponsor the project in England. In the *Literary Supplement of the London Times* for November 1, 1923, appears a letter by him outlining the plans of the committee and requesting the names of those interested. Previous to this the Modern Humanities Research Association had published in 1922 an announcement concerning the plans of the Committee on Mediaeval Latin of the Modern Language Association of America.

7. The committee is considering ways and means of publishing a journal devoted to medieval Latin studies. This publication would contain reports, special studies, reviews, and comprehensive bibliographies. The editorial board could well consider also a project for publishing in uniform edition translations of medieval Latin classics. In any case it is hoped to arrange for publishing an annual bibliography of studies in the field of medieval Latin.

8. In November, 1923, the secretary prepared and mailed to almost four hundred scholars interested in some aspect of medieval Latin studies a bulletin concerning the work of the committee.¹

The larger aspects of our program are admirably summarized by Professor Tatlock as follows:

The ultimate objective held in view by the Committee on Medieval Latin Studies is an understanding of the Latin records of the Middle Ages and their significance in human history. This involves: (1) Lists of documents. (2) Publication or other reproduction of documents. (3) Diction-

¹ Any person not having received a copy and desiring one may secure it until the supply is exhausted by writing to the secretary, 76 Oxford Street, Cambridge, Mass.

aries and other linguistic helps. (4) Surveys and monographs dealing with the whole field or with parts of it from various points of view. (5) The study of the relations of medieval Latin to its classical background, to medieval vernacular literature, to medieval life and thought in general, and to modern literature and thought.

GEORGE R. COFFMAN

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL LATIN IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

The following summary embodies the answers to a questionnaire sent last winter to upwards of forty institutions of advanced learning in the United States, and the results of some further correspondence and use of their publications to check or complete the answers. Partial or complete replies were received from persons in thirty-seven colleges or universities, fifteen in the East, seventeen in the Mid-West, and five in the Pacific region. The institutions replying are: (Eastern) Brown, Bryn Mawr, the Catholic University of America, Columbia, Cornell, George Washington, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, New York University, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Smith, Vassar, Yale; (Mid-Western) Chicago, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, Northwestern, Ohio State, Tennessee, Texas, Washington University (St. Louis), Western Reserve, Wisconsin; (Pacific region) California, Southern California, Stanford, Utah, Washington. We repeat that we have depended largely on the answers of local men, but have made every effort to get the latest and fullest information.

Thirteen institutions seem to offer no courses devoted exclusively to medieval Latin literature, language, or intellectual culture. These are Brown, George Washington, Michigan, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Smith, Southern California, Tennessee, Texas, Western Reserve.

Courses in colloquial or vulgar Latin are offered at Chicago, Cornell, Harvard, Iowa, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Yale, and occasionally at the Catholic University, Johns Hopkins, and Utah; in patristic or church Latin language and literature at California, the Catholic University, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Stanford, Wisconsin; in historical Latin at Chicago, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, New York, Princeton, University of Washington, Wisconsin. This is an inadequate summary of many courses, and in some cases large opportunities. In several of the more important institutions historical seminaries have been given for many years in which charters, chronicles, and other historical documents are read. Courses in later medieval Latin paleography are offered at Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Princeton, Washington

University (St. Louis), Wisconsin, and Yale. Elsewhere it is touched on, and there are courses in earlier paleography. Most of the courses referred to above meet merely one or two hours a week during one term; at Columbia, Harvard, and Pennsylvania alone, apparently, is a complete year's work devoted to a course primarily on medieval Latin. Most of the courses are taken by very few students, and many are given only now and then. It is probable, therefore, that there is much less study of medieval Latin in the universities in general than the lists given above at first suggest. California, Stanford, Utah, and Vassar express a desire to offer new or more extensive reading courses in medieval Latin as soon as a suitable textbook is available. Chicago, Columbia, and perhaps Bryn Mawr also indicate that they would use such a book, and probably other institutions would do so. It is quite clear that of all single services to medieval Latin studies the publication of a good reading-book is the greatest possible.

Less numerous are courses on the history of medieval thought and intellectual culture. Courses devoted to medieval philosophy, or some aspect of it, are offered at the Catholic University, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Pennsylvania (three courses), and Wisconsin. In these courses it is uncertain how much Latin reading by the students is involved. Other noteworthy specialized courses are: at the Catholic University, *Medieval Preaching*; at Chicago, *Medieval Drama* (J. M. Manly); at Harvard, *History of Pastoral Literature* (E. K. Rand); at Pennsylvania, *Anglo-Latin Literature* (J. C. Mendenhall), *Medieval Drama* (A. C. Baugh, J. B. Beck); at Western Reserve, *Methods of Historical Research*, especially for intellectual history and the medieval period (Lynn Thorndike); at Yale, *Anglo-Latin Poetry from the Twelfth Century to the Age of Pope* (Tucker Brooke), *Medieval Latin Drama* (Karl Young). Noteworthy general courses largely or wholly on medieval Latin culture are: at California, *Medieval Culture* (L. J. Paetow); at Harvard, *History of Classical Culture in the Middle Ages* (E. K. Rand), *Intellectual History of Europe, 500-1500* (C. H. Haskins); at Illinois, *The Religious, Economic, and Intellectual Development of Medieval Society* (L. M. Larson); at Northwestern, *Intellectual Development of the Middle Ages* (Ernest Lauer). Many or most of the courses in this last group, and most of those in the preceding, probably involve Latin reading by the students. It must be observed that no attempt seems to be made anywhere at a general survey of medieval Latin literature.

Other general or special courses of advanced character on medieval civilization involve Latin at least in their background, perhaps more than this, and in turn afford background for study of medieval Latin. Such courses, besides those already mentioned, are offered at Colorado, Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Princeton (*Medieval Civilization*, D. C. Munro), Vassar, Wisconsin (*Medieval Civilization*, G. C. Sellery).

We have summarized or listed the courses in which medieval Latin is largely read, or in which medieval Latin culture is studied. Besides these, almost all of the thirty-seven institutions replying to the questionnaire offer courses in which medieval Latin is used incidentally, in connection with courses in history, Romance philology, English, divinity, philosophy, law, or fine arts, but do not indicate even approximately to what extent the actual reading of medieval Latin documents is indispensable for such courses. Aside from the courses mentioned in the three preceding paragraphs, probably in most cases no such reading is done by the students, and little by the professors in connection with these courses; in linguistic courses Latin words are studied, and in others secondary sources based on medieval Latin documents. Of course much medieval Latin literature in the largest sense has filtered through into the general reservoir of common knowledge.

It is of no small practical interest to observe what departments take most active part in these courses. According to the questionnaire, Latin departments distinctly take the lead, with history second, in some institutions the two departments dividing the honors between them, Latin being at the top in some twelve institutions, with courses in the language and the literature in a more restricted sense, and history in about eight, with courses on historical literature or in general intellectual history. If we consider the amount of Latin read, and the amount of original work done, dissertations and the like, the positions might be reversed. The English department takes the lead only at Yale. Philosophy is prominent in Pennsylvania, and law in California. No other department figures prominently in giving courses.

The questionnaire disclosed a large number of men, one and often several in each institution, who express particular interest in these studies. The neglect of medieval Latin studies is not due in the country as a whole to a want of qualified and zealous medievalists, of whom some would be glad to offer more work than at present. Very distinguished research in the field has been and is being done by men who offer no regular courses in it; the late Professor J. D. Bruce, of Tennessee, is a case in point, not to mention the living. Several institutions offer rich opportunities for research with highly qualified men. In regard to such opportunities, and to courses, Harvard clearly leads, with Chicago, Columbia, and Pennsylvania perhaps next. A considerable amount of research is actually in progress, books and articles by professors and dissertations by students. Of the works specified, several times as many are on literary as on historical subjects, though some of the latter may have been overlooked by our correspondents. With some eminent exceptions, historians use medieval Latin literature mainly as sources, and contribute to fresh knowledge of it less than language men do. It is still more noteworthy that nearly all the language professors and graduate students who are reported in our sources of information as doing research in the field are in modern, not in ancient, language departments. Yet we have seen that

far more courses in medieval Latin are given by ancient than by modern language departments. It seems clear, therefore, that the classical men for the most part are interested in the subject as a side issue, as ancillary and contributory to the promotion of Latin studies in general, while a far larger number of modern-language men seem to feel that fresh interest in the subject for its own sake which is fertile in original writing. The brilliant contributions made by some of the classicists, and the distinguished qualifications of many of them, make us regret that the work has been so largely left to men less well equipped.

Complete and well-proportioned information on this whole subject has been difficult to obtain, still more to present. This is partly because the subject ramifies into many departments of study without having any academic nucleus, and, therefore, in few institutions can any one man easily answer for it as a whole. Whether departments of philology or history are the right hand of medieval Latin studies we are not prepared to say, but the evangelical injunction seems to be laudably observed, not to let your right hand know what your left hand does. In particular, we have not felt justified in evaluating to any great extent the courses or opportunities in the several institutions; in some doubtless these are as great as anywhere in the world, but our business has not been primarily with the few, but to survey conditions in the country as a whole. We felt it ungracious to belittle by comparisons the efforts of institutions which are doing the best they can. If at any point we have seemed to anyone to say too little, or to overlook something, we beg our readers to believe that this is due either to failure to get information in spite of much effort, or to the purpose of this report. Our primary concern has been with the study of the medieval Latin language itself, and of medieval intellectual life, rather than of mere records, as expressed in it.

Considering the history of American universities, it is not surprising that these subjects are not more studied. The American college curriculum goes back to a time when everyone went through much the same limited and consecrated round of studies, and when the Middle Ages were little regarded, except perhaps as a source for superficial romantic thrills, the current for which hardly flows in Latin. There was prejudice against the religious and philosophical writing in Latin as either dead or living only in an unpopular religious system, against the other literature as lacking value or as a mere copy of classic Latin, and against the language as supposedly debased. Some of this prejudice was not wholly unjustifiable, since classical literature does seem to many to uphold an ideal and to be expressed in a style more stimulating and more needed today than the medieval, but the prejudice was encouraged because it made the acquisition of a new body of knowledge seem needless. Therefore the language, literature, and philosophy of the Middle Ages were ignored, though those of the ancients and more or less the moderns formed the bulk of the college course. Much of this prejudice still survives,

even in the face of the historical spirit which wishes to understand the past before undertaking to judge it. It is among the historians in the restricted sense that the study of medieval Latin in America began, with the study of historical documents in Latin rather than of intellectual history and the classical tradition. But soon after the growth of the historical spirit and its fresh zeal of research, appeared new enemies. In most institutions the curriculum in arts aims less than formerly at liberal culture for its own sake, and more at preparation for teaching, and teaching of medieval Latin is not in demand. Further, few students come equipped with an adequate knowledge of classical Latin, and none too many are interested enough in the history of the distant past to be willing to do hard work on it. Considering all this, the showing of American universities today is not discreditable. But in the country as a whole it is due mainly to the enterprise of a man or two here and there, to the *Lehrfreiheit* in our graduate schools. Few if any institutions seem to feel responsibility for adequately treating the central language and literature (in the wide sense) of the Middle Ages. The fact that other "unpractical" studies are provided for, and the vast expansion of the field of knowledge, make the neglect of this region the more striking. Scholars and even ordinary men know the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans; they know modern times; they know medieval vernacular literature—the very hairs of Beowulf's head are all numbered. But the main current that joins the ancients to the moderns they do not know. This is the only body of literature in our own line of intellectual descent, or related to our civilization, that remains obscure; if the "Dark Ages" remain dark, it is our fault, not theirs. We lack texts, translations, bibliographies, monographs, histories, and dictionaries. Indeed, how many people know yet just how far and just wherein medieval Latin literature is important? Two things are clear. Medieval literary history has been written mostly with a vernacular, Germanic, oral-traditional, folk-lore point of view and background, and few attempts have been made on a large scale to integrate it with classical and medieval Latin. Furthermore, when it is so integrated it will have to be written over again.

For further developing these studies, the methods to be employed within the universities seem fairly obvious (to say nothing here of outside activities). Best of all is the presence of men of wide knowledge and interest in the subject, who will bring up followers in such ways as seem good to them. Few institutions can have several such; indeed, some will hardly think best to develop these studies at all. But elsewhere something can be done. It is difficult to see that any one department can be held primarily responsible; indeed, the neglect of the subject is due to the fact that it is nobody's business in particular. A priori, it would be natural that Latin departments should give courses of study in the language, philosophy in the thought, modern languages in some parts of the literature, and history in others. It is on these

departments, if on any, that the main responsibility rests. Some institutions which wish to promote the study would possibly do well to make up a committee or perhaps offer a co-operative course from these departments, with the addition, perhaps, of men in other departments (historians of science, law, politics, or the like) who may chance to be concerned with it, a sort of co-operation which would have many advantages, one of them being acquaintance with each other's work and interests. But perfunctory recognition of departments is much less important than the co-operation of men with an active personal interest in the subject. No formalities should hamper spontaneous activity. Any qualified man in any department would do well to give any useful course in the language or the literature. But the most fundamental one seems to be a reading course, preferably using a volume of characteristic passages from representative writers. It is true that a student with a good knowledge of classical Latin can read the later language without much introduction to its peculiarities; but many students of history and modern languages notoriously lack such knowledge, and both classes of students will profit from such a close contact with the literature. The second obvious course will give an account (usually in lectures) of the intellectual or literary history of the Middle Ages as recorded in Latin, touching on its relations to classical, early Christian, Arabic, medieval vernacular, and modern literature and thought. This should appeal to students of history, philosophy, ancient and modern literature, and even of other subjects. Various simpler modifications of such a survey course are possible; for instance, one on the writers most influential on medieval and early modern times, such as Dionysius Cato, Macrobius, Augustine, Orosius, Jerome, Boethius, Gregory, Isidor, Petrus Comestor, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Guido delle Colonne, Vincent of Beauvais, Jacobus de Voragine (to mention a few examples, though not as a program). To spread knowledge of the subject, a fluent reading knowledge of Latin we might even dispense with. Progress will be slow if we receive nobody but specialists. Some of the reading for such courses, possibly the necessary minimum, is available in translation, but many more translations are needed, indeed are one of the greatest needs; though much the same purpose would be served by texts with a running summary in English. The resources of some libraries would need to be surveyed and supplemented by the aid of a well-selected and moderate-sized bibliography, which is also much needed. In any highly developed graduateschool these two courses or the like might well be regarded as the minimum, and at least the full time of one man, or the equivalent, seems necessary to do justice to these and other possible courses, to research students and to private research in a field where *Hilfsmittel* do not abound. This does not mean, of course, that other men would not also give work involving the use of medieval Latin. Visits and lectures from distinguished American and foreign medieval Latinists would also be a great stimulus. Further,

teachers of medieval history and vernacular literatures (especially of Middle English) might well do more than they do to keep their students conscious of the central position of Latin, and of the relation of the vernacular literatures to it. In other words, for all workers in the past, medieval Latin should cease to be largely an unexplored and desert hinterland. To this end we need a sketch or monograph on the medieval Latin background of Middle English, and the other vernacular literatures. More candidates for the doctorate in modern languages might be encouraged not only to select research subjects dealing with the relations of the vernacular literatures to medieval Latin, but also now and then subjects dealing with medieval Latin itself. Classical students would find that needed and valuable studies of the influence of ancient writers on medieval are well adapted to their needs. The sense of contributing to the knowledge of an important and neglected field is a stimulus in itself, but unfortunately the usefulness of a study is not always considered as much as its supposed adaptation to the student or its later market value. Scholarly organizations among graduate students, philological societies, modern language or classical or history clubs and the like, might well aim to devote a meeting now and then to the subject, to accounts of research or appreciative descriptions of certain writers or bodies of literature; there is assuredly no lack of grand, picturesque, human, and even racy matter in medieval Latin.

Graduate schools may be looked at in two ways; practically, as training schools for a profession, ideally, as devoted to the advancement of learning. Medieval Latin studies depend on the second with due practical heed to the first. Without plenty of such disinterested zeal as will express itself in such studies as these, no graduate school can very well accomplish its practical function.

TUCKER BROOKE

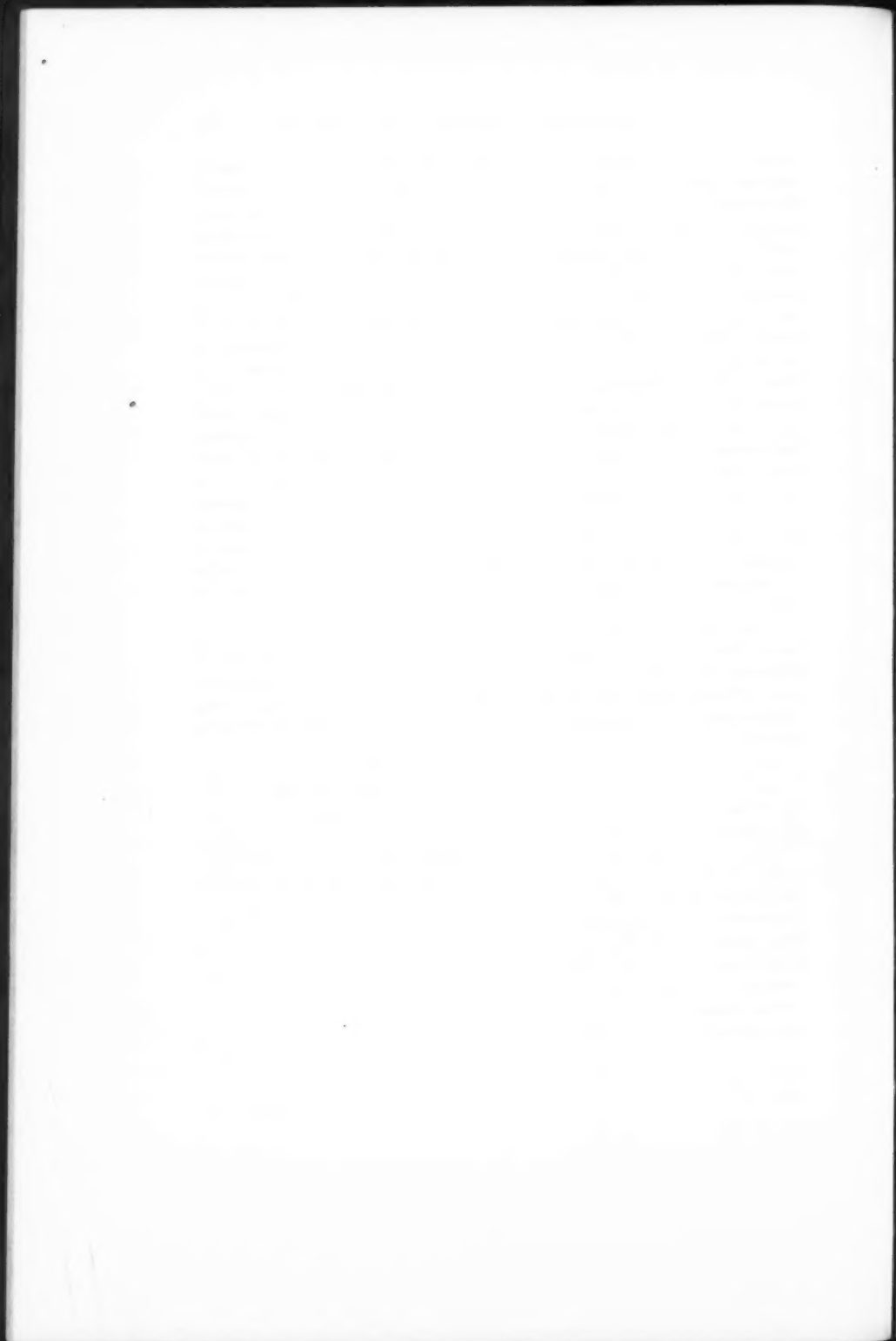
Yale University

TOM PEETE CROSS

University of Chicago

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK, *Chairman*

Leland Stanford University



THE READING OF SOUTHEY AND COLERIDGE: THE RECORD OF THEIR BORROWINGS FROM THE BRISTOL LIBRARY, 1793-98

Through the recovery of the original records of the books borrowed from the Bristol Library¹ we are now enabled to follow month by month and even at times day by day the reading of Southey and Coleridge during their critical formative years, 1793-98. Although exhibiting, of course, only a comparatively small proportion of their entire reading during this memorable period, the list which follows reconstructs a part of the picture of the spiritual development of the poets. I attempt no interpretation of the influence of these volumes in the contemporary and subsequent work of Southey and Coleridge, but I present the complete record as a body of source material.

BOOKS BORROWED BY SOUTHEY

1793

Oct. 22-25	Enfield's <i>History of Philosophy</i> , Vol. I ²
Oct. 25-Nov. 13	Enfield's <i>History of Philosophy</i> , Vol. II
Oct. 28-Nov. 4	Gillies' <i>History of Greece</i> , Vol. II
Nov. 4-18	Smith's <i>Wealth of Nations</i> , Vol. I

¹ The discovery of the registers, which had lain neglected for nearly a century, was announced in *The Bristol Times and Mirror* for April 11, 1889, by E. R. Norris Mathews, Librarian of the Bristol Museum and Library, as follows: "While searching recently for some missing volumes in the upper story of the Museum and Library, I was attracted by a heap of books of small folio size, all bound alike, in old 'rough calf.'" A summary of the reading of Southey and Coleridge by James Baker appeared under the title, "Books Read by Coleridge and Southey," in *Chamber's Journal* for February 1, 1890, pp. 75-76, reprinted in *Literary and Biographical Studies*, 1908, pp. 211-18, but this list makes no pretensions to completeness and the inaccuracies therein are deplorable.

The registers which I consulted in compiling the catalogue below are eight in number. Among the prominent names of borrowers are those of Dr. John Beddoe, Dr. Thomas Beddoes, Joseph Cottle, Sir Humphrey Davy, Landor, Robert Lovell, Richard Lovell Edgeworth (father of Maria), and John Hallam, Dean of Bristol, the father of Henry Hallam, the historian. The borrower often signed his own name against the volume drawn, so that we have many signatures of Southey and Coleridge. Landor's signature, executed October 25, 1836, when he first wrote his name as required of new subscribers, is most characteristic, with its angry splutter of heavy drops of ink (unblotted!) over the "d."

For permission to examine the registers and to publish material therefrom I am indebted to the City Librarian, L. Aclan Taylor, Esq. I wish to express also my obligation to Miss Winifred Parry of the library staff, who aided me untiringly in every way.

² The dates show when the volume was borrowed and returned. Titles are given verbatim, parts supplied being inclosed in brackets and supplementary notes in parentheses.

- Nov. 18-25 Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II
 Nov. 25-28 Godwin *On Political Justice*, Vol. I
 Nov. 26-28 Robertson's *Topographical Survey*, Vol. I
 Nov. 29-Dec. 2 Gilpin's *Forest Scenery*, Vol. I
 Dec. 2-9 Gilpin's *Observations on the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland, etc.*, Vol. I
 Dec. 9-18 Godwin *On Political Justice*, Vol. II
 Dec. 18-20 Wollstonecraft's *Rights of Woman*
 Dec. 20-23 Headley's *Ancient English Poetry*, Vol. I
 Dec. 23-27 Cowper's *Homer*, Vol. I
 Dec. 27-30 Cowper's *Homer*, Vol. II, *Odyssey*, etc.
 Dec. 30-Jan. 13, 1794 Gilpin's *Forest Scenery*, Vol. II
 1794
 Jan. 14-27 Polwhele's *Theocritus*
 Jan. 29-Feb. 10 Gillies' *History of Greece*, Vol. II
 Feb. 10-March 26 Hooke's *Roman History*, Vol. I
 Mar. 26-31 Mitford's *History of Greece*, Vol. I
 Mar. 31-Apr. 30 Gillies' *History of Greece*, Vol. II
 Apr. 30-May 7 Gast's *History of Greece*
 July 8-Aug. 7 Hartley *On Man*, Vol. I
 Aug. 7-22 Hartley *On Man*, Vol. II
 Aug. 22-Sept. 1 Coxe's *Travels into Poland, etc.*, Vol. I
 Sept. 1-5 Coxe's *Travels*, Vol. II
 Sept. 5-10 Cartwright's *Journal*, Vol. I
 Sept. 10-16 Cartwright's *Journal*, Vol. II
 Sept. 16-18 Cartwright's *Journal*, Vol. III
 Sept. 18-22 Clavigero's *History of Mexico*, Vol. II
 Sept. 22-23 Clavigero's *History of Mexico*, Vol. II
 Sept. 23-25 Helvetius' *Child of Nature*
 Sept. 25-26 Boyd's *Dante*, Vol. I
 Sept. 26-Oct. 24 Boyd's *Dante*, Vol. II
 Oct. 3-29 Lillo's *Works*, Vol. II
 Nov. 3-Jan. 26, 1795 Holinshed's *Chronicle*
 1795
 Jan. 1-21 Williams' *Observation on the Discovery of America*
 Jan. 28-Feb. 26 Carte's *History of England*, Vol. IV
 Mar. 5-23 Mitford's *History of Greece*, Vol. I
 Mar. 23-27 Ferguson's *Roman Republic*
 Mar. 27-Apr. 14 Priestley's *Corruption of Man*, Vol. I
 Apr. 6-9 Burns's *Poems*
 Apr. 13-May 18 *History of Paraguay*
 Apr. 16-20 Raynall's *European Settlements*, Vol. V
 Apr. 20-27 Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, Vol. II (Vol. I entered to Coleridge same date)

May 4-June 1	Fuller's <i>Worthies</i>
May 18-June 1	Maclaurin's <i>Newton</i>
June 1-11	Michaelis, Vol. II
July 13-16	<i>Edda Saemundina</i>
Aug. 10-Oct. 14	D'Herbelot's <i>Bibliothèque Orientale</i>
Oct. 14-Nov. 12	<i>Edda Saemundina</i>

BOOKS BORROWED BY COLERIDGE

1795	
Mar. 2-20	<i>Poetical Tracts</i> , Vol. III
Mar. 13-20	Mosheim [<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>], Vol. III
Mar. 19-29	Gast's <i>History of Greece</i>
Mar. 23-Apr. 6	[Edward] Young's <i>Works</i> , Vol. V
Mar. 27-Apr. 6	Enfield's <i>History of Philosophy</i> , Vol. I
Mar. 27-Apr. 14	Priestley's <i>Corruption [of Man]</i> , Vol. I (signing Southey's name for this)
Apr. 6-14	Robertson's <i>Charles 5</i> , Vol. I (signing Southey's name)
Apr. 20-27	Burnet's <i>History of His Own Time</i> , Vol. I
Apr. 27-May 12	<i>History of George the Third</i> , Vol. II
Apr. 27-May 12	<i>History of George the Third</i> , Vol. III (signing Southey's name)
May 15-June 6	Cudworth's <i>Intellectual System</i>
May 18-June 11	Balguy [<i>Divine Benevolence Asserted</i>] and Sturges [<i>On the Present State of Church Establishment</i>]
June 1-11	Michaelis, Vol. I
June 1-11	Paley's <i>Evidences</i> , Vol. I
June 15-25	Clarkson <i>On the Slave Trade</i>
June 15-25	Wedstrom <i>On Colonization</i> (signing Southey's name after scratching out his own)
July 14-Aug. 7	Edwards' <i>West Indies</i> , Vol. II
July 21-Sept. 21	Rowley's <i>Poems</i> . Cambridge edition
Oct. 19-19 (!)	<i>Carmina Quadragesimalia</i> , Vol. II
Nov. 4-9	<i>Apuleia Opera</i> , Vol. V (Coleridge adds the note: "9 Dutch ships taken, with 3000 troops Bravo.")
Nov. 25-Dec. 23	Burgh's <i>Political Disquisitions</i> , Vols. I and II (Vol. III signed for in Cottle's name)
Dec. 23-23 (!)	<i>Essay on Material World</i>
Dec. 24-Jan. 6, 1796	Akenside's <i>Poems</i>
Dec. 30-Jan. 28, 1796	<i>Poetical Tracts</i> , Vol. III
1796	
Jan. 6-Feb. 24	Ossian's <i>Poems</i> , Vols. I and II
Feb. 26-Mar. 10	<i>Annual Register</i> for 1782-83
Mar. 10-28	Berkeley's <i>Works</i> , Vol. II
Mar. 28-Apr. 25	<i>Anthologia Hibernica</i>

- Apr. 25-May 6 *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. VI
 May 6-June 6 *Observer*, Vols. I and V
 June 6-29 *Essay on Existence and Nature of an External World*
 June 23-July 4 Boyd's *Dante*, Vols. I and II
 July 4-Aug. 31 *Veterum Persarum Religio*
 July 13-Aug. 31 D[avid] Williams on *Education*
 Sept. 2-16 Ramsay's *Philosophical Principles*, Vols. I and II
 Sept. 22-Oct. 12 Taylor's *Sermons*
 Sept. 27-28 *Critical Rev.*, May 1796
 Oct. 12-14 Ramsay's *Philosophical Principles*, Vol. III
 Oct. 25-Nov. 9 Foster On *Accent and Quantity*
 Nov. 9-Dec. 13 ✓ Cudworth's *Intellectual System*
 Nov. 25-30 Monstrelet [Chroniques de France, etc.], Vols. I and II
 Dec. 13-Mar. 9, 1797 Foster On *Accent and Quantity*
 1797
 Mar. 23-May 11 Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiae*
 Aug. 18-28 Massinger's *Works*, Vols. I and II
 Aug. 25-Oct. 13 Nash's *Worcestershire*, Vols. I and II
 Oct. 25-Nov. 9 Burney's *History of Music*, Vol. II
 Dec. 1-15 Benyowsky's *Mem[oirs]*
 Dec. 11-Jan. 24, 1798 Saemunda *Edda*
 Dec. 13-14 Rosseau (*sic*), Vol. VII (containing 1750 Dijon prize
 discourse)
 1798
 Jan. 8-15 Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, Vol. I
 Jan. 29-Feb. 26 Blair's *Lectures*, Vol. II
 Apr. 20-May 22 *Manchester Memoirs*, Vol. II
 Apr. 23-May 22 *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. LXXV
 May 25-June 1 *Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of*
Arts, Vols. X and XI
 May 31-July 13 Benyowsky's *Memoirs*, Vols. I and II
 June 8-14 Massinger's *Dramatic Works*, Vols. III and IV

PAUL KAUFMAN

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

La Passion du Palatinus, Mystère du XIV^e Siècle. Edité par GRACE FRANK. "Les Classiques français du Moyen Age," publiés sous la direction de Mario Roques. No. 30. Paris: Champion, 1922. Pp. xiv + 101.

With the publication of Dr. Karl Christ's edition of the recently discovered *Palatine Passion*,¹ and of Mrs. Grace Frank's preliminary studies² and subsequent edition, the important questions of date, source, and interrelation of the *Passion* plays in France have received new material for a completer explanation.

The discovery of the *Palatine* manuscript by Dr. Christ³ brought the assurance of the existence at least as early as the first half of the fourteenth century of a true *Passion* in which Christ's sufferings and death are fully portrayed. Both editors, while realizing the possibility of a mixture of dialectic forms, agree in localizing the language as being in its general characteristics that of the southeastern French territory. Dr. Christ is inclined further to specify western Burgundy as the place of origin. Arguing from the lack of material in the whole field of the biblical drama, the existence of early plays in German and Provençal, the height of development to which the fourteenth-century *Passions* have attained, internal evidence in the *Palatine Passion* (moderate length, few characters, simplicity of action, prosaic diction), and from the results of metrical and linguistic examination, Dr. Christ would give to the manuscript and to the *Passion* a date in the first decades of the fourteenth century. Mrs. Frank⁴ has added to Dr. Christ's hypotheses, from a knowledge of sources inaccessible to him and from a more objective study of the versification and linguistic peculiarities, the statement that in the *Palatine Passion* three strata may be observed: the first corresponding to the thirteenth-century *Passion des Jongleurs*,⁵ the second to the Autun *Passion* or its original,⁶ the third being that of the later

¹ "Das altfranzösische Passionsspiel der Palatina," *Zeits. f. Rom. Phil.*, XL (1920), 405-88.

² "Vernacular Sources and an Old French Passion Play," *MLN*, XXXV (1920), 257-69. "The *Palatine Passion* and the Development of the Passion Play," *PMLA*, XXXV (1920), 464-83. "Critical Notes on the *Palatine Passion*," *MLN*, XXXVI (1921), 193-204.

³ *Die altfranzösischen Handschriften der Palatina*, Leipzig, 1916 [= *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 46].

⁴ *MLN*, 1921, loc. cit.

⁵ For editions, see below. Cf. E. Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle*, pp. 27-ff. (Dijon and Paris, 1903).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-ff.

redaction of the play and only slightly earlier than the manuscript itself. Thus she places the archaic original of the present *Palatine Passion* in the thirteenth century and considers that Jeanroy's conjecture¹ that dramatic representations of the *Passion* in French took place before the fourteenth century has been confirmed, as has also his hypothesis that an archaic *Passion* play would lack the grotesque, humorous, and gruesome elements. Arguments on such grounds are usually open to criticism unless other arguments concur in evidence. In this case opportunity of testing their stability is given by the sources and interrelations of the *Palatine Passion* and the other *Passion* plays.

Before 1920, knowledge of the latter had been restricted by the limited material. Roy had called attention to the importance of the narrative *Passion des Jongleurs* for the works in dramatic form, as well as to the similarities between the *Autun Passion* and the *Sion fragment*,² and between the *Sainte-Geneviève Passion*³ and the *Semur Passion*.⁴ Jeanroy,⁵ while accepting Roy's theories only in part, showed additional resemblances between the *Autun Passion* and the *Semur Passion* which he characterized as borrowings of the latter. He in his turn was combatted by Creizenach,⁶ who would attribute the phenomena of resemblance to chance and the similarity of material. Hence the question whether these points of contact were due to direct copying, to mutual and intricate borrowings, or whether they were purely fortuitous, was still undecided.

Dr. Christ asserted the influence of the narrative *Passion* upon the *Palatine Passion* on the basis of Roy's analysis, the shortened form in the *Roman de St. Fanuel*,⁷ and the prose version of Jean d'Outremeuse.⁸ He did not realize the existence of the edition of Theben and Pfuhl,⁹ and that of Miss Foster,¹⁰ of which he learned while going to press, was inaccessible to him. He had to content himself with comparing the *Palatine Passion*, in its general outlines only, with the version of Jean d'Outremeuse, a proceeding which is manifestly unsatisfactory and can lead to no exact statement. He accepted Roy's belief as to the common ancestry of the *Sion fragment* and

¹ "Le Mystère de la Passion en France," *Journal des Savants*, 1906, pp. 476-92.

² Joseph Bédier, "Fragment d'un ancien mystère," *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 86-94.

³ Ed.: Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du XV^e siècle*, II, 139 ff. (Paris, 1837).

⁴ Ed.: Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.

⁵ "Sur quelques sources des Mystères français de la Passion," *Rom.*, XXXV (1906), 365-78.

⁶ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I (Halle, 1911), 258.

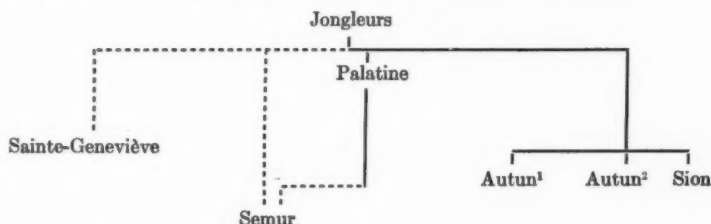
⁷ Ed.: C. Chabaneau, *Revue des langues romanes*, XXVII (1885), 118 ff., 157 ff.; XXXII (1888), 360 ff.

⁸ Ed.: A. Borgnet, *Ly myreur des histours, chronique de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse*, I, 1864 ff. (Bruxelles).

⁹ Hermann Theben, *Die altfranzösische Achtsilbnerredaktion der Passion*, Greifswald, 1909. Erich Pfuhl, *Die weitere Fassung der altfranzösischen Dichtung . . . über Christi Höllenfahrt und Auferstehung*, Greifswald, 1909.

¹⁰ *The Northern Passion*, II (1916), 102 ff. (*EETS* [original series], 147).

the Autun *Passion*, but since he knew the latter only through Roy's analysis and excerpts and the citations of Jeanroy¹ and Schumacher,² he left the question of its relation with the Palatine *Passion* in suspense, saying that an identity of both plays seems excluded and that their common traits can be explained by their archaic character and by the *Passion des Jongleurs* as common source. He suggested that the parallels of the Sainte-Geneviève and Semur *Passions* may have their ground in a common source, which also perhaps may be the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and remarked that the likeness of the Semur *Passion* to the Autun *Passion* pointed out by Jeanroy could come from the Palatine *Passion*. The result of his deductions as we can infer it from his treatment would presumably present the following aspect:



Mrs. Frank has made³ the comparison of the Palatine *Passion* with the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and pointed out a large number of passages which establish without doubt the close relation of the two. The Sion fragment, she states⁴, may be regarded as a more or less remote ancestor of the Palatine and Autun *Passions*, arguing that their source is either the source of the Sion fragment or a derivative of it, because in that part of the *Passion* included in the Sion fragment the Palatine and Autun *Passions* have no lines in common which are not in the Sion fragment, and because they both omit two lines found in the Sion fragment. Since both Palatine and Autun *Passions* have independent connections with the Sion fragment, since they have in common several lines and scenes not in the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and since, moreover, the Autun *Passion* contains details from the *Passion des Jongleurs* not in the Palatine *Passion*, Mrs. Frank argues that these two derive not from each other but from a common source from which the Palatine *Passion* has eliminated certain elements; and that, since the similarities in the two plays are not confined to scenes related to the *Passion des Jongleurs* and to the Sion fragment, we do not possess the immediate source of the Palatine *Passion*, but a play or plays must have existed to explain the similarities in the Palatine and Autun *Passions* which do not derive from any dependence of one text upon the other and which do not derive from a common source

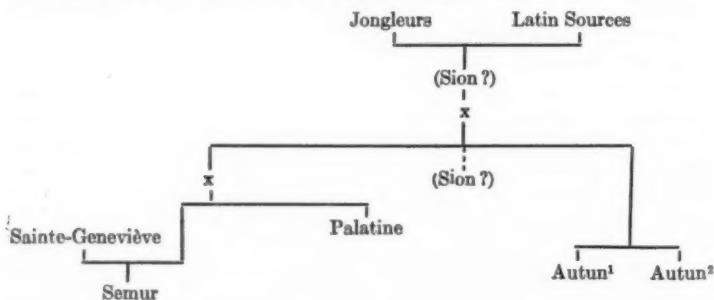
¹ Rom. 1906, loc. cit.

² "Les éléments narratifs de la *Passion* d'Autun et les indications scéniques du drame médiéval," Rom., XXXVII (1908), 570-93.

³ MLN, 1920, loc. cit.

⁴ PMLA, 1920, loc. cit.

in the *Passion des Jongleurs*. According to her, the clerk who was the author of the archetype turned to Latin sources and to the *Passion des Jongleurs*; in their turn the clerks who put together the originals of the Palatine and Autun *Passions* repeated the process, and the redactor of the Palatine *Passion* attempted to enliven his material by adding realistic details and introducing metrical and stanzaic novelties. The Semur *Passion*, Mrs. Frank places, as Dr. Christ had suggested, in the group of the Palatine *Passion* with borrowings from the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion*, because it has a number of parallels found only in the Palatine *Passion*, and because its resemblances to the Autun *Passion* may, except in unimportant minor cases, be explained by common tradition. Since the Semur *Passion* has resemblances to the Palatine *Passion* not in the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and to the latter not in the former, Mrs. Frank is inclined to believe that it used a dramatic source intermediate between the two. She asserts that the complexity of development of the great *Passions* of the fifteenth century prevents any convincing proof of their relationships from being given. To sum up her arguments, she presents the *Passion* plays in this group as undergoing the influence of one another as in the following scheme:



The two main differences between the outlines of Dr. Christ and Mrs. Frank lie in the relations between the Sainte-Geneviève and Semur *Passions*, and in the location of the Sion fragment. Concerning the first, it may be definitely stated that Dr. Christ is wrong in assuming the *Passion des Jongleurs* as a common source; the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion* certainly does not belong to the group of the narrative *Passion*. Dr. Christ may have been misled by Roy's description, which is unfortunately none too full. Whether, as Sepet thought,¹ the Semur *Passion* derives its resemblances to the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion* from the source of the latter, or whether it is dependent upon the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion* itself, seems impossible of demonstration. As to the second difference, it is here that Mrs. Frank's arguments have least weight. The fact that both the Palatine and Autun *Passions* have no lines

¹ *Rom.*, XXXIV (1905), 468.

in common not in the fragment does not render it impossible for the latter to be, as Roy and Dr. Christ believed, part of the Autun *Passion*, and the two lines found in neither *Passion* might be regarded as an addition in the fragment. Moreover, the Autun *Passion* is, with the Sion fragment, the only play in the group in which the harrowing of Hell occurs after the resurrection, and these two plays contain several common passages not in the Palatine *Passion*. Argument about a fragment of which we can know so little is far from conclusive, but it would hardly seem probable that the Sion fragment represents a forerunner of the Palatine and Autun *Passions*. There appears to be nothing either to establish or exclude placing it in a third line of development from a source common to all three plays rather than in the group of the Autun *Passion*. In the remaining part of her work on the sources and development, Mrs. Frank has given a plan far more complete than that of Dr. Christ. She is usually careful to ascribe to her theories only that comparative amount of certainty which she can derive from her study. We see that the three stages in the redaction of the Palatine *Passion* which she proposed from a study of the language are, if not proved, at least rendered probable. It seems that the final judgment upon this section of her study might well be that she has offered what is, so far, the best and fullest explanation of the facts as we have them, and that if in certain points she may in the light of subsequent discoveries be shown to be in the wrong, her main outlines will stand firm. She has proved the influence of the *Passion des Jongleurs* upon the Palatine and Autun *Passions*, and that of the Palatine group plus the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion* upon the Semur *Passion*, and showed that the Palatine and Autun *Passions* go back to some common source derived from the *Passion des Jongleurs*.

As to the two editions themselves it may be stated that while that of Mrs. Frank offers a version in several ways the clearer and more intelligible of the two, that of Dr. Christ has the advantage of rendering it much easier to ascertain the original readings of the manuscript. He indicates proposed deletions and revisions by parentheses and brackets, and gives the manuscript readings at the bottom of each page instead of in notes at the end of the edition. Since only rarely are the speakers indicated in the manuscript, Mrs. Frank, on the analogy of attributions in the related *Passions*, has been able to improve on Dr. Christ's distribution in several minor cases. More especially has she caught better the spirit of the dialogue in the scene of the harrowing of Hell, where she had no parallels as guide. In the treatment of the few narrative lines found in the play both editors agree in stating that the lines of either were copied from some narrative *Passion*—not the *Passion des Jongleurs*—or were involuntary slips of the scribe. In the case of line 402, Mrs. Frank seems to be right in considering it to be a stage-direction since it has no rhyme, and in interpreting it as *Parole n'a parolé* rather than as *Parole, va parole!* It cannot definitely be decided whether she be right in assigning line 254 to [*Uns Juifs*] and punctuating with an exclamation

point, or whether we should read the line with Dr. Christ as again a stage-direction. We find Mrs. Frank indebted to Dr. Christ in some seventy instances for correction of the manuscript reading. In two lines (108, 1723) the attribution of the correction to Dr. Christ has been accidentally omitted, and in one (1496) she attributes her correction to Dr. Christ although he prints the manuscript reading as it stands. She shows some inconsistency in accepting his emendations in regard to the long form of the future; for example, she prints *averaï* (89) but *avra* (33). She is wrong in giving (p. xiii) the form of 89 as *avra*. Throughout she resolves without comment the abbreviation *que* before a vowel as *qu'* where the meter demands it, although she wisely attempts few corrections in other cases of faulty meter. In about thirty cases¹ she does not take advantage of the corrections she herself suggested in her critical remarks on Dr. Christ's text. Her readings in the few places where she varies decidedly from those of Dr. Christ are usually an improvement, but in lines 1667 and 1936 her changes do not seem sufficiently justified. There are few misprints: *larne* for *l'arme* (1698), and seemingly *meïmes* for *meïsmes* (1392). Dr. Christ's explanatory notes are fuller and have the advantage of not being hidden by the list of variant readings. The material he gives can generally be found in Mrs. Frank's supplementary articles on the Passion plays; still it is convenient to find it brought into closer relation with the text. Mrs. Frank's glossary is far fuller and more accurate than the incomplete one given by Dr. Christ, while he in his turn has the advantage of including a photographed page of the manuscript.

With the advantage of possessing much basic material in the anterior work of Dr. Christ, Mrs. Frank has been able to make use of this material, at the same time profiting by Dr. Christ's mistakes as well as by his example. Again, from the fact that she had at her disposal much invaluable supplementary material not accessible to Dr. Christ, her deductions have been rendered more stable and more detailed. Finally, she appears to possess, in a higher degree than Dr. Christ, that intangible quality called literary appreciation. All this of course cannot take away from Dr. Christ the honor of having been the discoverer of the play, or of having first worked over the problems and having offered solutions which are in a great many cases acceptable and probably correct. In short, while it is unfortunate that the material for the study of the Passion be further complicated, both editions will surely demand consideration from the future worker in the field, although it seems that in the greater percentage of cases where they are at variance, that of Mrs. Frank will be found the surer guide.

BATEMAN EDWARDS

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¹ Lines 71, 103, 108, 142, 159, 450, 543, 620, 634, 664, 699-700, 937, 947, 1002, 1019-35, 1092, 1095, 1099, 1105, 1124, 1182, 1191-92, 1281, 1376, 1387, 1677, 1681, 1684, 1690, 1797, 1843.

Types of English Drama, 1660-1780. BY DAVID HARRISON STEVENS. Ginn & Co., 1923. Pp. viii+920.

Professor Stevens has given us a comprehensive and altogether excellent collection of plays representative of the Restoration and the eighteenth century. As a practical working text the book is a boon to students and readers alike, if only for the simple reason that it brings together in attractive, convenient, and scholarly form a considerably greater amount of material than has been available in earlier collections of this sort. Twenty-two plays, reprinted so far as possible from first editions, are crowded into this book, which is, I think, some ten or a dozen times better than anything of the kind we have had before. The point is that much of the additional material, important as it is, has hitherto been relatively hard to get at, because certain of the plays are scarcely to be found at all in modern editions, while others have been neglected in earlier collections. The new book will enable those who have no extensive libraries at hand to draw upon something more than the usual baker's dozen of the plays of Dryden, Otway, Congreve, Sheridan, *et al.* Mr. Stevens, besides retaining these and adding others by the same dramatists, prints also *The Rehearsal*, Etherege's *Man of Mode*, Shadwell's *Bury Fair*, Rowe's *Jane Shore*, Lillo's *London Merchant*, and Home's *Douglas*.

Here, one might say, is God's plenty, so far as this period of our drama affords it. The new book, accordingly, will be received with thanksgiving even though on one or two questions there may be slight differences of opinion between its editor and a reviewer here and there. It is not to be expected that Professor Stevens will altogether escape the usual fate of anthologists. The chances are that if someone else had done his book, certain plays would have been omitted and certain others substituted, and he will no doubt hear of various things he might have done instead of the good thing he did. "Wycherley," says Mr. Stevens, "and the second-rate tragedians of the late seventeenth century have not sufficient historical importance to justify the reprinting of plays quite out of keeping with modern taste." Here it might be pardonable if it were not ungenerous to query whether *The Plain Dealer*, to mention nothing else of Wycherley's, is not, after all, at least as significant historically as Goldsmith's *Good-Natured Man* or Sheridan's *Duenna*, both of which Mr. Stevens reprints. As regards the sensibility of modern taste, one sometimes feels that even the best of modern editors pamper the thing too much, as witness Mr. Stevens' occasional "expurgation of objectionable words." The italics are mine; the expedient seems to me a somewhat debatable one in a volume of Restoration plays.

To return for a moment to the second-rate tragedians of the late seventeenth century; an old colleague of mine in a recent letter speaks enthusiastically of the new book but sees "no reason for printing *The Duenna* and omitting *The Rival Queens*." On the *tot homines* principle there is, of course, no arguing such points as these, and Mr. Stevens is surely within his rights in

defending his choice, as he does in his notes, by emphasizing the "rough vigor" and the stage effectiveness of the Sheridan opera. The present reviewer, however, cannot altogether escape the feeling that something might have been gained by omitting the oft-reprinted and readily accessible secondary works of Goldsmith and Sheridan. Thereby space might have been saved for something of Vanbrugh's, who is not represented at all, and perhaps (to mention another personal predilection) for Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*.

The reader will know how to discount these personal preferences of one of those envious persons called critics, who, as Mr. Bayes remarked, will find fault and censure things that they are not able to do themselves! Mr. Stevens' book, at all events, is so good that these passing questions will not disturb it or him. Its strong list of plays is not its only good point. Those of us who were lucky enough to see and hear *The Beggar's Opera* lately will count ourselves twice blessed in finding its delightful airs reproduced with the text in this volume. The editor, for his part, found space also to provide a valuable critical apparatus by reprinting the original dedications and prefaces of the plays. Of Mr. Stevens' own notes, the introductory remarks on the plays and the biographical summaries are the most serviceable. Without seeking to contribute new matter for specialists, these notes will furnish students with sound critical tests and thorough summaries of the known facts about the plays and dramatists. Mr. Stevens' publishers, finally, deserve praise for giving him sufficient elbow-room and for producing a well-printed book.

ALWIN THALER

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Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin. BY OTTO JESPERSEN.

London: Allen & Unwin, 1922. Pp. 448.

To compose a fair and worthy appreciation of this most interesting volume of Professor Jespersen's is not an easy undertaking, for it is so crammed with a variety of suggestive discussions all centering about the author's general theme of the life and growth of language, and it is so rich in the constant expression of his own definite opinions that one is aghast at the breadth of research and the depth of thought revealed in its pages. Indeed, it is so well planned and so carefully thought out that one cannot fully appreciate the splendid workmanship represented in the organization of the wealth of material involved until he has read through to the final page.

The study is divided into four books, of which the first is a survey of the "History of Linguistic Science." Only a scholar of the ripest experience and most profound thinking could venture to interpret this history in the broad-minded and comprehensive manner that Professor Jespersen does. And probably only those readers who have devoted considerable time to surveying the field of scholarly activity in Germanic, and especially English,

philology can appreciate the worth of this interpretation—the tracing of the beginnings of comparative and historical philology, and the appraisal of the various attitudes which philologists have taken toward the question of language growth and its causes. When the history of the study of the English language shall be written, the scholar who does it will do well to weigh carefully what is said on the subject in this first book.

The second book gets down to the business of considering the aspects and causes of linguistic development, and while the title, "The Child," might seem, at first glance, rather far removed from the subject-matter of the final chapters of the entire study (which attempt a reasonable discussion of the much-vexed question of the genesis of language), as a matter of fact the author is trying to find in the childhood of the present-day individual linguistic tendencies, which may help to throw light on the linguistic beginnings of the human race, as well as to account for the manifold changes that have taken place and are still taking place in the languages of historical times. In a thorough discussion of the speech of the child, the author traces the beginnings of the speech of the human individual, from the earliest incoherent screams and babblings through the attempts at definite sounds and words and through the development of his grammar, concluding with the question of the influence which he ultimately exerts upon the language which he learns to use. If one might venture any criticism of this book, it would be to point out that although Professor Jespersen has weighed carefully the influence of the young child and of the adult upon the progress of language, he has not paid enough attention to the linguistic tendencies manifested by the child, and more especially the boy, between five and fifteen years of age. While the little child may modify the language learned from its parents, it does so unconsciously for the most part, whereas the speech of the older boy, after he begins to associate with other boys, is often deliberately modified, until it is so filled with slang, peculiar pronunciations, and perversions of meaning, that the parent sometimes regards his son almost as a speaker of an alien tongue. And although it is true that much of this state of things is transient and unimportant, yet the boy slips so gradually into the man that he undoubtedly carries into later life modes of expression which grew out of this age of linguistic lawlessness. It is interesting to watch the parent protest against these innovations, then become tolerant of them, and finally fall into the way of using them, especially when several children unite in bringing into the home these novelties of speech.

There are so many suggestive passages in this second book that one is continually tempted to drop the impersonal formality supposed to be proper in a review such as the present, and to speak right out, testifying to his own observations and opinions along the lines suggested. I was particularly interested in the author's comments upon bilingualism in children, for there is so much opportunity to see the effects of it in the United States, and his conclusions as to the limitations resultant in later speech development accord so exactly with my own observations that I must agree with them most heartily.

In the next book linguistic change is studied as it is brought about by the introduction of foreign elements into a language, by the creation of hybrid tongues, jargons, etc., such as Beach-la-Mar, Pidgin English, and the Chinook jargon. The influence of the woman, linguistically considered, is also discussed and appraised, and, finally, the causes of change of anatomy, geographical influences, national psychology, speed of utterance, etc., are taken up, one after the other, and examined, with a view to determining how far each may have modified language in general. Particularly in the last chapters of this third book, which deal with causes of change, one is impressed with the immensity of the field under examination when at almost every step one would like to stop and offer comment or submit further illustrative matter. For example, under the head of "Lapses and Blendings" (pp. 279 ff.), I cannot refrain from suggesting that this same anticipatory or consequential contamination frequently occurs in the rapid writing of quick-witted students, resulting in such incongruous combinations as "still till five o'clock" (for "stay till five o'clock"), or "the leaving were falling down" (for "the leaves were falling down"); and since I have had occasion to handle of late many references to articles in periodicals, I have not infrequently found errors which seemed to be due to this same tendency of the mind to run ahead or lag behind the pen, such errors, for example, as 82:382 for 82:362, or 94:324 for 94:320. I have been told, moreover, that this tendency of the mind sometimes makes considerable trouble in banks, where many combinations of figures are handled.

In the fourth and last book, dealing with "The Development of Language," the author discusses some questions especially interesting to the lover of modern English—as to whether uninflected languages are inferior or superior to the more highly inflected ones, the ideals to be considered in the appraisal of modern language tendencies, the effects of word-shortening, the causes of irregularity, etc. In this last book Professor Jespersen introduces rather more original matter emanating from his own special studies than he does elsewhere, and in the presentation of certain etymological problems leaves the reader not so well satisfied, perhaps, as in the earlier parts of the book. In his final chapters, moreover, in which he touches upon the problems involved in the study of the origin of speech, he takes up a subject which has long been discussed and which, as he admits, is not likely to lead to much that is definite or conclusive.

Perhaps the feature of the entire book which impressed me most was the judicial manner in which Professor Jespersen introduces his evidence and weighs it without letting himself be carried away by over-much enthusiasm for any one theory. Numerous are the theories discussed which have been put forward at one time or another in explanation of the changes that have taken place in languages and regarding the beginnings of human speech. There is indeed in this book material for a work of several volumes equally large. Jespersen's discussion would make a splendid guide for a seminary

course on the philosophy of language provided one could have that ideal class of mature students who combine an intense enthusiasm for all the many aspects of linguistic change with a comprehensive knowledge of languages and of their individual characteristics.

As to the details of the author's English and the more striking aspects of his nomenclature, something might be said, perhaps, in the way of criticism, but on the whole the English employed is remarkably lucid and strong. In fact, the author uses the modern idiom in a way that is at times most forceful. He evidently makes an effort to break away from some of the terms which have been used so generally as a result of the influence of German philologists, and for the most part I can sympathize with the desire to do so, although in the case of "Gothonic" I see no gain, since the word suggests at once in "Gothic" a word of narrower connotation and one which even yet is used by writers in widely different ways.

The book suggests a multitude of interesting lines of investigation, and to those who have worked at the problems outlined and who can appreciate the long and careful research and the clear thinking involved in its composition, the results must appear as in general sound and scholarly.

ARTHUR G. KENNEDY

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A Grammar of the German Language. Revised and Enlarged. By
GEORGE O. CURME. New York: Macmillan, 1922. Pp. xii+623.

While reading this truly *new* book, I compared it constantly with the earlier work of the same title, published seventeen years ago. The Preface I read last of all; a passage of it afforded me a striking confirmation of the most vivid impression that the study of the two books had given me. Shortly before I had said to two colleagues: "This is much more than an objective work of science. It is *that*; but it is also a magnificent record of scholarly and human evolution in the soul of a truly great, sincere, and good man. It is a document of joyful sacrifice." One of them, being well acquainted with the work and its author, assented immediately. The other, being less in touch with philological ways of thinking and feeling, was skeptical; he found it hard to understand how a "mere grammar" could convey such a spiritual message. I am afraid he suspected me of an autosuggestive illusion. But the author's self-analysis is on my side. Quite in keeping with the great clearness of the book he understands that which is hardest to understand for every man—his own soul; he says in the Preface: "He feels the new issue as quite a different book. It is a record of striking inner change and development"—the unfolding of a *Persönlichkeit*, I would add, to which I pay an even higher tribute than to the unquestionable material and scholarly merit of the book. A detailed comparison of the two editions reveals many a

struggle during their interval. Former views are silently abandoned in countless instances, new theories are advanced in such a modest, matter-of-fact way that the casual reader will hardly notice the innovations, and the illustrative material is economized to such a degree that the vast volume of the author's collections is apparent not so much from the mere number of examples as from the aptness of their selection.

In its concrete aspects, the new book is far more pleasing than the old one. The beautiful monotype print, the good quality of paper and binding, and the *Übersichtlichkeit* of the typographical arrangement recommend it at first glance. The number of pages has been reduced from 661 to 623, but the print surface measures 5×8 inches instead of 4×6½, and a type of a much narrower set has been used. This and a number of skilful space-saving devices implies an increase of the contents by at least 40 per cent. At first I felt inclined to regret the use of bold-face roman instead of German type for the examples, but soon I became convinced that it adds greatly not only to the beauty of the printed page but especially to the ease of reference. This is further enhanced by the judicious addition of numerous subtitles, subdivisions, and running heads for subchapters. Altogether, the new book is much more inviting to constant use than the old edition.

It is so remarkably free from misprints that the reviewer feels rather ashamed to refer to such trifles as he has noticed. On page 60, the period after "Ludwig XIV." is omitted; on page 283, sixth line from the bottom, the second *e* in "perfect" fell out of the form; now and then, e.g., on pages 84, 94, column heads of paradigms are placed inconsistently. On the other hand, quite a few errors and misprints of the first edition have been rectified.

Comparative tests of the numerous lists of examples point to the most rigorous economy in the use of material. In many cases they are briefer, but more useful than in the earlier edition, while other lists are so greatly extended that the book is now without a parallel as a complete compendium.

The phonetic part is almost entirely new. The author, who used to favor the North-German pronunciation, has yielded to the clear trend of the last generation in accepting unreservedly the stage pronunciation and the transcription of the Association Phonétique, but he has also modernized the theoretical features of this chapter. Thus, he designates *h* as a glottal spirant (i.e., Viëtor's *h*¹) instead of an "aspirate" (however, in a note on p. 28 he characterizes it as a voiceless vowel—Viëtor's *h*²); *äu* is transcribed as *ɔ̥* instead of *ɔ̃*; the French nasal vowels are indicated as such, and not by means of *ɲ*; quantity and accent are treated with the utmost care. I am not quite sure whether I can agree with the author's theory on "divided consonants," advanced chiefly on page 42. I certainly accept it if it means that after a short vowel the occlusion belongs to the preceding, the opening to the following syllable. But Curme's explanation of the treatment of geminates in the second sound shift (p. 38) seems to indicate that he assumes two complete consonant articulations, at least for an earlier period of the

language, a hypothesis that I consider untenable. It is clearly an oversight when he states (p. 12) that "*l, m, n* and lingual *r* do not differ in any essential point from vowels in their formation, though on the basis of function they must in most cases be classified as consonants." These sounds are true consonants as to formation, although belonging to Sievers' "Sonore," but they often appear in vocalic function. (By the way: Why "lingual" *r* only? And why does the table on the same page list this *r* as a liquid, but uvular *r* as a spirant? Is it not an understatement to say that lingual *r* is only "heard in certain localities" [§36, 6], "confined to provinces and small towns" [§37, 2], and "is disappearing despite its adoption by the stage and certain enthusiasts"?)

The morphological section abounds in far-reaching changes of conception and presentation. The chapter on the subjunctive is an especially fertile one. Even more definitely than in the earlier work, Curme distinguishes two types of the subjunctive, which he terms as "present tense forms" and "past tense forms"—a distinct improvement over the older terms "subjunctive of principal tenses" and "subjunctive of historical tenses." He says, "The different tenses within each group mark different distinctions of time, but the tenses of one group as compared with those of the other group do not mark different distinctions of *time*, but differ only in the *manner* in which they represent the statement." This is the best statement of the facts that has ever been given, and the terms are good (much superior to the terms "First and Second Subjunctives," used in the reviewer's elementary grammar), but I feel that they might still be improved in a way that would imply that we are considering not merely two sets of forms, but really two different moods. In a German book I should risk the expressions *der Potential—der Irreal*—but how render the latter term in English? The question has puzzled me for a long time. Would the pairs "Potential—Optative" or "Subjunctive—Optative" do? I regret to see the traditional statement retained, that in optative expressions "a present tense form [indicates] hope of fulfilment, a past tense form . . . little or no hope of fulfilment." This is hardly true; the present tense form is restricted to solemn phrases (*Das gebe Gott!*), but there is no real difference in the degree of confidence; the solemn type is naturally more objective, the colloquial type more impulsive or subjective, but that is implied in the situation, not in the form of the verb. In the discussion of final clauses the modern prevalence of the indicative after a present tense is stated. The use of the "past periphrastic subjunctive" (the form with *würde*) is discussed clearly and comprehensively, but I might add that it seems to be given especial preference when there is some uncertainty as to the correct simple form, or some other reason of aversion against it, e.g.: *einbauen würde* for *einbaue*, *einbaute*; *wenn es etwas helfen würde* for *hülfe*, *hülfe*; *würde erheben* for *erhöbe*, *erhöbe*; *fliehen würde* for *flöhe*; *lesen würde* for *läse*. The new chapter on aspects (p. 164) opens up new vistas of great promise, and the treatment of the use of the tenses is magnificently bold. As far as I know, Curme is

the first grammarian to recognize without reserve that *werden* with the infinitive is rather a modal than a tense auxiliary (p. 214), the so-called future tense being less positive than the present tense; the old edition had suggested but not firmly stated that fact.

This boldness, which is at the same time cautious, because it is always founded on clear facts, characterizes many chapters of the morphology and most of the syntax. It is greatly enhanced by a fortunate skill in the coining of new terms for new thoughts. The following are especially apt:

OLD EDITION	NEW EDITION
Indefinite <i>Es</i>	Situation <i>Es</i>
Remutation (<i>Rückumlaut</i>)	Unmutation
Gerundives	Modal Verbals
Modal Adverbs	Sentence Adverbs (in part)
Quasi Passive	(Actional and) Statal Passive

Every one of these new terms implies a new attitude in grammatical theory, deserving a far more detailed discussion than the scope of a review permits. In fact, its great wealth of new thoughts precludes an adequate review of Curme's work. Countless details of great interest and value must be omitted.

It is in connection with the historical side of the book that I regret the limitations of space most keenly. In the form of introductions to chapters and extensive notes, the author adds invaluable historical material to the descriptive grammar. Everywhere he shows the dynamic forces in the language, the colloquial as well as the literary form, giving a continuous picture of its general trend and its territorial differentiation. I have learned a great deal from such historical discussions as that of the impersonal verbs, the copula, the perfect auxiliaries, the spread of mutation in noun plurals, the verb classes, the replacement of subjunctives by indicatives—and very many others.

With great hesitation I venture to mention a few points on which I differ with the author, at least for the time being. He seems to possess such conclusive evidence for all of his statements that my doubts must necessarily take the form of questions rather than of objections. For instance: Is the form "ein Bourbon" (p. 66) really in use? Does "Diese Knöpfe sind *eine* der besten" (§121.1.D.a) occur in popular language? The accusative form for the predicate is mentioned for Swiss (§252.2.C.a); is it not even more widespread in Low German? I am not acquainted with the phrase "Ich weiss nicht, wie ich bekehrt bin" or "wie mir bekehrt ist" (p. 336) = "I am sorely puzzled"; is it really "common in colloquial language"? Is the neuter "das tapfere Emden" (p. 122) ever used for the ship? I had not observed that the full forms *schmeichele*, *handele* (p. 256) are now more common than *schmeichle*, *handle*. On page 122 (old and new) it had better be stated that the names of *metals*, not *minerals*, are neuters; otherwise, a very large number of exceptions would have to be mentioned (*Kohle*, *Granit*,

Quarz, Schwefel, Kiesel, Kreide, Schiefer, Kalk, Feldspat, Lehm, Ton, Phosphor, the names of most precious stones, etc.).

Quantitatively, the author felt obliged to dispense with much of his illustrative material, but a number of symptoms permit us to guess at the stupendous labor involved in its accumulation. One feature of the choice of instances is also characteristic of the extent to which the material covers the most recent period: We find instances from speeches and proclamations by President Ebert, Kurt Eisner, Bethmann-Hollweg; from very recent issues of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, *Tägliche Rundschau*, *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Neue Freie Presse*; from *Feldpostbriefe* and other documents of the late war and the German Republic.

Even the most exhaustive compendium must leave some questions unanswered, and any demands for still greater completeness are hardly more than expressions of subjective curiosity. Personally, I might mention these few *desiderata*: A discussion of German punctuation and capitalization, especially from a historical point of view, would have been a task worthy of Professor Curme's scholarship. The stilistical difference between contracted and uncontracted forms like *im* and *in dem*, the first being generic, the second disjunctive, might have been added on page 59. In section 183 it might have been mentioned that the tense meaning of past participles depends in part on the aspect, *geliebte Eltern* denoting the present or, better, being tenseless, because *lieben* is durative. The remark on page 309, bottom, concerning the δ -subjunctives of the type *gölte*, *börste*, does not settle my uncertainty concerning those forms, but linguistic feeling has not yet come to a decision on that point.

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Hispanic Notes and Monographs. I. *Fray Luis de León*. By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. A Biographical Fragment. Oxford University Press, 1921.

II. *The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*. By JULIA FITZMAURICE-KELLY. Oxford University Press, 1921.

Portuguese Series. I. *Gil Vicente*. By AUBREY F. G. BELL. Oxford University Press, 1921.

These three volumes, inaugurating two new series of Hispanic publications, bear the imprimatur of the Hispanic Society of America and have the same binding, format, and beautiful typography as that of the Peninsular Series, published in this country by Putnams, to which Miss G. G. King and Mr. E. C. Hills have already contributed.

The most important of the three books here considered is the first. It is, as the author wistfully tells us, "a fragment of a book which will now never come into existence." The exhaustive study which Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly had projected may in time be supplied by Mr. A. Coster, who is now working in this field. But we are very grateful for this shorter work, which, though

modestly styled a fragment, nevertheless offers a very complete, if brief, account of the author treated. More space is devoted to biography than to the criticism of Fray Luis' works. The famous process brought against Luis de León by the Inquisition is treated exhaustively. Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly has subjected all the documents in the case to a very close and fair analysis. It is the best account of the trial yet printed. One feels that he had nearly completed the biographical portion of his task, but has been unable to discuss his author's works as fully as he had intended.

The second volume contributes little new to our knowledge of the historian of Peru, but a great deal of information is made available for the first time to the English reader unfamiliar with Spanish. The Inca Garcilaso is a romantic figure, interesting alike as an individual and as a writer. Mrs. Julia Fitzmaurice-Kelly has studied her subject with thoroughness. She has the knack of sifting out from her often arid sources the essential, the picturesque, and the human. Her conclusions are presented in brief compass.

G. T. NORTHUP

The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays. By M. A. BUCHANAN.
University of Toronto, Philological Series No. 6, Toronto, 1922.

Mr. Buchanan, who has done so much to elucidate the bibliography of Lope de Vega's drama, now attempts to work out a scheme for dating Lope's plays by applying metrical tests. He seeks to establish a series of formulas, indicative each of a special period of Lope's activity, much as Mr. S. Griswold Morley has tried to work out the personal formulas of certain of the later dramatists. Starting with the hundred-odd Lope plays which may be positively dated, he analyzes the meters found in each and tabulates them. A play of uncertain date can then be fitted into the scheme, at least with fair approximation, according to the relative proportion of the meters employed in it.

Buchanan finds that Lope first introduced the ballad meter into plays about 1585. By 1593 it formed an integral part of every play's versification; by 1622 it frequently surpassed the *redondilla*. The *décima* makes its first appearance in a play of known date in 1599. After 1610 it appears regularly. Buchanan's study establishes many important facts like these.

One minor omission. There is no mention of *Dómine Lucas* in either the schedule of the dated or that of the early plays. It can be dated as belonging to the Alba de Tormes period. In his Preface Lope apologizes for the crudities of his verse, and there was clearly no later revision. Metrically it belongs to the early period. The bulk of the play is in *redondillas*, with a few passages of 11-syllable verse, both blank and rhymed. There are no *deéimas*, *quintillas*, *octavas*, *silvas*, nor *verso de romance*. Buchanan's lists are not absolutely complete, but he has studied sufficient plays to illustrate the succession of Lope's metrical phases. The evolution from extreme simplicity to richness and variety is well brought out.

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